



3288

**Mercantile Library Association**  
OF MONTREAL.

No. 6426

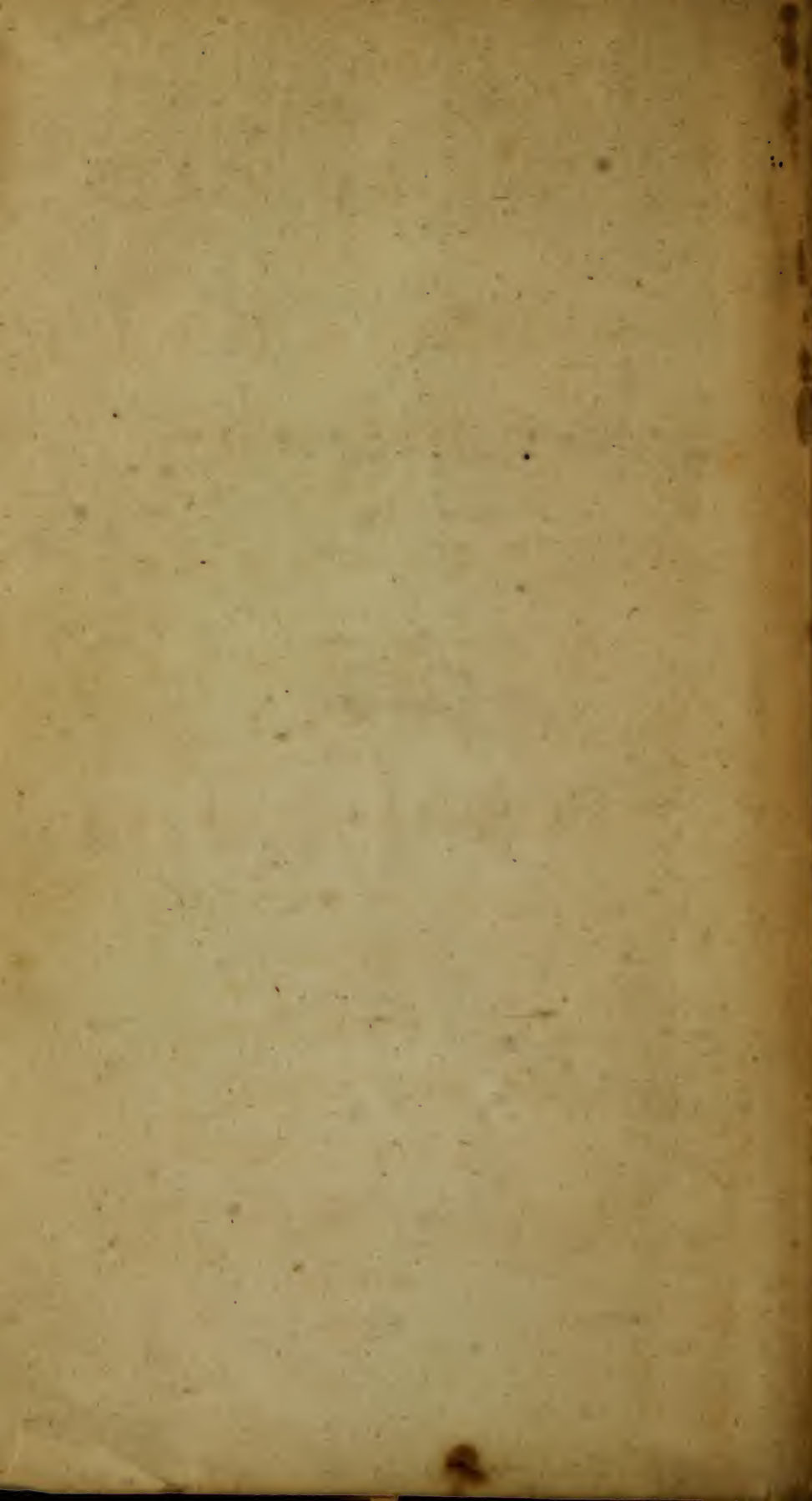
*Fourteen Days allowed for perusal.*

FRASER INSTITUTE

7-7



Odd

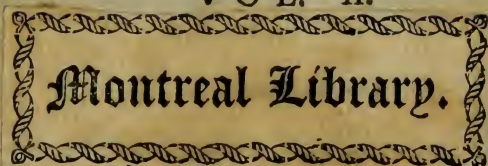


THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
HERODOTUS,  
TRANSLATED  
FROM  
THE GREEK.  
WITH NOTES.

BY  
THE REVEREND WILLIAM BELOE.  
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

---

VOL. II.



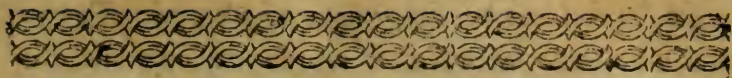
L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR LEIGH AND SOTHEBY,  
YORK-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN.

M DCC XCI.







# HERODOTUS.



## B O O K III.

### T H A L I A.

#### C H A P. I.



AGAINST this Amasis Cambyfes, the fon of Cyrus, led an army compofed as well of his other fubjects, as of the Ionic and Æolic Greeks. His inducements were thefe : by an ambafador whom he difpatched for this purpofe into Ægypt, he demanded the daughter of Amafis, which

\* *Thalia.*]—On the commencement of his obfervations on this book, M. Larcher remarks, that the names of the mufes were only affixed to the books of Herodotus at a fubfequent and later period. Porphyry does not diftinguifh the fecond book of our hiftorian by the name of Euterpe, but is fatisfied with calling it the book which treats of the affairs of Ægypt. Athenæus alfo fays, the firft or the fecond book of the hiftories of Herodotus.

I am nevertheless rather inclined to believe that thefe names were annexed to the books of Herodotus from the fpontaneous impulfe of admiration which was excited amongft the firft hearers of them at the Olympic games.

VOL. II.

B

According

which he did at the suggestion of a certain Ægyptian who had entertained an enmity against his master. This man was a physician, and when Cyrus had once requested of Amasis the best medical advice which Ægypt could afford, for a disorder in his eyes, the king had forced him, in preference to all others, from his wife and family, and sent him into Persia. In revenge for which treatment this Ægyptian instigated Cambyfes to require the daughter of Amasis, that he might either suffer affliction from the loss of his child, or by refusing to send her, provoke the resentment of

According to Pausanias, there were originally no more than three muses, whose names were Μελίτη, Μοῦση, and Αοιδή. Their number was afterwards encreased to nine, their residence confined to Parnassus, and the direction or patronage of them, if these be not improper terms, assigned to Apollo. Their contest for superiority with the nine daughters of Evippe, and consequent victory, is agreeably described by Ovid. Met. book v. Their order and influence seems in a great measure to have been arbitrary. The names of the books of Herodotus have been generally adopted as determinate with respect to their order. This was, however, without any assigned motive, perverted by Ausonius, in the subjoined epigram:

Clio gesta canens, transactis tempora reddit  
Melpomene tragico proclamat mœsta boatu.  
Comica lascivo gaudet sermone Thalia.  
Dulciloques calamos Euterpe flatibus urget.  
Terpsichore affectus citharis movet, imperat, auget.  
Plectra gerens Erato saltat pede, carmine vultu.  
Carmina Calliope libris heroica mandat  
Uranie cœli motus scrutatur et astra.  
Signat cuncta manu loquitur Polyhymnia gestu  
Mentis Apollineæ vis has movet undique musas  
In medio residens complectitur omnia Phœbus.—T.

Cambyfes.



Cambyfes. Amafis both dreaded and detefted the power of Perfia, and was unwilling to accept, though fearful of refufing the overture. But he well knew that his daughter was meant to be not the wife but the concubine of Cambyfes, and therefore he determined on this mode of conduct: Apries, the former king, had left an only daughter: her name was Nitetis<sup>2</sup>, and ſhe was poſſeſſed of much elegance and beauty. The king, having decorated her with great ſplendour of dreſs, ſent her into Perfia as his own child. Not long after, when Cambyfes occaſionally addreſſed her as the daughter of Amafis, “Sir,” ſaid ſhe, “you are greatly miſtaken, and “Amafis has deceived you; he has adorned my per- “ſon, and ſent me to you as his daughter, but Apries “was my father, whom he, with his other rebelli- “ous ſubjects, dethroned and put to death.” This ſpeech and this occaſion immediately prompted Cambyfes in great wrath to commence hoſtilities

<sup>2</sup> *Nitetis.*]—Cambyfes had not long been king, ere he reſolved upon a war with the Ægyptians, by reaſon of ſome offence taken againſt Amafis their king. Herodotus tells us it was becauſe Amafis, when he deſired of him one of his daughters to wife, ſent him a daughter of Apries inſtead of his own. But this could not be true, becauſe Apries having been dead above forty years before, no daughter of his could be young enough to be acceptable to Cambyfes.—So ſay Prideaux; but Larcher endeavours to reconcile the apparent improbability, by ſaying that there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe that Apries lived a priſoner many years after Amafis dethroned him and ſucceeded to his power; and that there is no impoſſibility in the opinion that Nitetis might, therefore, be no more than twenty or twenty-two years of age when ſhe was ſent to Cambyfes.—*T.*

against Ægypt.—Such is the Persian account of the story.

II. The Ægyptians claim Cambyfes as their own, by asserting that this incident did not happen to him, but to Cyrus<sup>3</sup>, from whom, and from this daughter of Apries, they say he was born<sup>4</sup>. This, however, is certainly not true. The Ægyptians are of all mankind the best conversant with the Persian manners, and they must have known that a natural child could never succeed to the throne of Persia, whilst a legitimate one was alive. And it was equally certain that Cambyfes was not born of an Ægyptian woman, but was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspe, of the race of the Achæmenides. This story, therefore, was invented by the Ægyptians, that they might from this pretence claim a connection with the house of Cyrus.

III. Another story also is asserted, which to me

<sup>3</sup> *But to Cyrus*—They speak with more probability, who say it was Cyrus, and not Cambyfes, to whom this daughter of Apries was sent.—*Prideaux*.

<sup>4</sup> *They say he was born.*—Polyænus, in his *Stratagemata*, relates the affair in this manner:—Nitetis, who was in reality the daughter of Apries, cohabited a long time with Cyrus as the daughter of Amasis. After having many children by Cyrus, she disclosed to him who she really was; for though Amasis was dead, she wished to revenge herself on his son Psammenitus. Cyrus acceded to her wishes, but died in the midst of his preparations for an Ægyptian war. This, Cambyfes was persuaded by his mother to undertake, and revenged on the Ægyptians the cause of the family of Apries.—*T*.

Seems



seems improbable. They say that a Persian lady once visiting the wives of Cyrus, saw standing near their mother the children of Cassandane, whom she complimented in high terms on their superior excellence of form and person. "Me," replied Cassandane, "who am the mother of these children, " Cyrus neglects and despises, all his kindness is " bestowed on this Ægyptian female." This she said from resentment against Nitetis. They add that Cambyfes, her eldest son, instantly exclaimed, " Mother, as soon as I am a man, I will effect the utter " destruction of Ægypt<sup>s</sup> ". These words, from a prince who was then only ten years of age, surprized and delighted the women; and as soon as he be-

<sup>s</sup> *I will effect the utter destruction of Ægypt.*—Literally, I will turn Ægypt upside down.

M. Larcher enumerates, from Athenæus, the various and destructive wars which had originated on account of women; he adds, what a number of illustrious families had, from a similar cause, been utterly extinguished. The impression of this idea, added to the vexations which he had himself experienced in domestic life, probably extorted from our great poet, Milton, the following energetic lines:

Oh why did God,  
 Creator wife, that peopled highest heaven  
 With spirits masculine, create at last  
 This novelty on earth, this fair defect  
 Of nature, and not fill the world at once  
 With men as angels, without feminine,  
 Or find some other way to generate  
 Mankind? This mischief had not then befall'n,  
 And more that shall befall, innumerable  
 Disturbances on earth through female snares.—T.

came a man, and succeeded to the throne, he remembered the incident, and commenced hostilities against Ægypt.

IV. He had another inducement to this undertaking. Among the auxiliaries of Amasis was a man named Phanes, a native of Halicarnassus, and greatly distinguished by his mental as well as military accomplishments. This person being, for I know not what reason, incensed against Amasis, fled in a vessel from Ægypt, to have a conference with Cambyfes. As he possessed great influence among the auxiliaries, and was perfectly acquainted with the affairs of Ægypt, Amasis ordered him to be rigorously pursued, and for this purpose equipped, under the care of the most faithful of his eunuchs, a three-banked galley. The pursuit was successful, and Phanes was taken in Lydia, but he was not carried back to Ægypt, for he circumvented his guards, and by making them drunk effected his escape: He fled instantly to Persia: Cambyfes was then meditating the expedition against Ægypt, but was deterred by the difficulty of marching an army over the deserts, where so little water was to be procured. Phanes explained to the king all the concerns of Amasis; and to obviate the above difficulty, advised him to send and ask of the king of the Arabs a safe passage through his territories.

V. This is indeed the only avenue by which Ægypt can possibly be entered. The whole country,



try, from Phœnicia to Cadytis, a city which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine, and in my opinion equal to Sardis, together with all the commercial towns as far as Jenysus<sup>6</sup>, belong to the Arabians. This is also the case with that space of land which from the Syrian Jenysus extends to the lake of Serbonis. from the vicinity of which mount Casius<sup>7</sup> stretches to the sea. At this lake, where, as was reported, Typhon was concealed, Ægypt commences. This tract, which comprehends the city Jenysus, mount Casius, and the lake of Serbonis, is of no trifling

<sup>6</sup> *Jenysus.*]—Stephanus Byzantinus calls this city *Inys*, for that is manifestly the name he gives it, if we take away the Greek termination. But Herodotus, from whom he borrows, renders it *Jenis*. It would have been more truly rendered *Dorice Janis*, for that was nearer to the real name. The historian, however, points it out plainly by saying, that it was three days journey from mount Casius, and that the whole way was through the Arabian desert.—*Bryant*.

Mr. Bryant is certainly mistaken with respect to the situation of this place. It was an Arabian town, on this side lake Serbonis compared with Syria, on the other compared with Ægypt. When Herodotus says that this place was three days journey from mount Casius, he must be understood as speaking of the Syrian side; if otherwise, Cambyfes could not have been so embarrassed from a want of water, &c.—See Larcher farther on this subject.

<sup>7</sup> *Mount Casius.*]—This place is now called by seamen *mount Tenere*; here anciently was a temple sacred to Jupiter Casius; in this mountain also was Pompey the Great buried, as some affirm, being murdered at its foot. This, however, is not true, his body was burnt on the shore by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fishing-boat, and his ashes being conveyed to Rome, were deposited privately by his wife Cornelia in a vault of his Alban villa.—See *Middleton's Life of Cicero*.—*T*.

extent; it is a three days journey over a very dry and parched desert.\*

VI. I shall now explain what is known to very few of those who travel into Ægypt by sea. Twice in every year there are exported from different parts of Greece to Ægypt, and from Phœnicia in particular, wine secured in earthen jars, not one of which jars is afterwards to be seen. I shall describe to what purpose they are applied: the principal magistrate of every town is obliged to collect all the earthen vessels imported to the place where he resides, and send them to Memphis. The Memphians fill them with water<sup>3</sup>, and afterwards transport them to the Syrian deserts. Thus all the earthen vessels carried into Ægypt, and there carefully collected, are continually added to those already in Syria.

VII. Such are the means which the Persians have

<sup>3</sup> *With water.*]—The water of the Nile never becomes impure, whether reserved at home, or exported abroad. On board the vessels which pass from Ægypt to Italy, this water, which remains at the end of the voyage, is good, whilst what they happen to take in during their voyage corrupts. The Ægyptians are the only people we know who preserve this water in jars, as others do wine. They keep it three or four years, and sometimes longer, and the age of this water is with them an increase of its value, as the age of wine is elsewhere.—*Aristides Orat. Ægyptiac.*

Modern writers and travellers are agreed about the excellence of the water of the Nile; but the above assertion, with respect to its keeping, wants to be corroborated.—*T.*

constantly



constantly adopted to provide themselves with water in these deserts, from the time that they were first masters of Ægypt. But as, at the time of which we speak, they had not this resource, Cambyfes listened to the advice of his Halicarnassian guest, and solicited of the Arabian prince a safe passage through his territories; which was granted, after mutual promises of friendship.

VIII. These are the ceremonies which the Arabians observe when they make alliances, of which no people in the world are more tenacious<sup>?</sup>. On these occasions some one connected with both parties stands betwixt them, and with a sharp stone opens a vein of the hand, near the middle finger, of those who are about to contract. He then takes a piece of the vest of each person, and dips it in their blood, with which he stains several stones purposely placed in the midst of the assembly, invoking during the process Bacchus and Urania. When this is finished, he who solicits the compact to be made

? *Tenacious.*]—How faithful the Arabs are at this day, when they have pledged themselves to be so, is a topic of admiration and of praise with all modern travellers. They who once put themselves under their protection have nothing afterwards to fear, for their word is sacred. Singular as the mode here described of forming alliances may appear to an English reader, that of taking an oath by putting the hand under the thigh, in use amongst the patriarchs, was surely not less so.

“ Abraham said unto the eldest servant of his house that ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh.” Gen. xxiv. 2.—*T.*

pledges

pledges his friends for the sincerity of his engagements to the stranger or citizen, or whoever it may happen to be; and all of them conceive an indispensable necessity to exist of performing what they promise. Bacchus and Urania are the only deities whom they venerate. They cut off their hair round their temples, from the supposition that Bacchus wore his in that form; him they call Urotalt, Urania, Alilat<sup>10</sup>.

IX. When the Arabian prince had made an alliance with the messengers of Cambyfes, he ordered all his camels to be laden with camel skins filled with water, and to be driven to the deserts, there to wait the arrival of Cambyfes and his army. Of this incident the above seems to me the more probable narrative. There is also another, which, however I may disbelieve, I think I ought not to omit. In Arabia is a large river called Corys, which loses itself in the Red Sea: from this river the Arabian is said to have formed a canal of the skins of oxen and other animals sewed together, which was continued to the above-mentioned deserts, where he also sunk a number of cisterns to receive the water so introduced. From the river to the desert is a journey of twelve days; and they say that the water was conducted by three distinct canals into as many different places.

<sup>10</sup> *Alilat.*]—According to Selden, in his treatise de Diis Syris, the Mitra of the Persians is the same with the Alitta or Alilat of the Arabians.—T.



X. At the Pelusian mouth of the Nile Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, was encamped, and expected Cambyfes in arms. Amasis himself, after a reign of forty-four years, died before Cambyfes had advanced to Ægypt, and during the whole enjoyment of his power he experienced no extraordinary calamity. At his death his body was embalmed, and deposited in a sepulchre which he had erected for himself in the temple of Minerva <sup>11</sup>. During the reign of his son Psammenitus Ægypt beheld a most remarkable prodigy; there was rain at the Ægyptian Thebes, a circumstance which never happened before, and which, as the Thebans themselves assert, has never occurred since. In the higher parts of Ægypt it never rains, but at that period we read it rained at Thebes in distinct drops <sup>12</sup>.

XI. The Persians having passed the deserts, fixed their camp opposite to the Ægyptians, as with the design of offering them battle. The Greeks and Carians, who were the confederates of the Ægypt-

<sup>11</sup> *Temple of Minerva.*]—This is not expressed in the original text, but it was evident that it is in the temple of Minerva, from chap. clxix. of the second book.—T.

<sup>12</sup> *In distinct drops.*]—Herodotus is perhaps thus particular, to distinguish rain from mist.

It is a little remarkable that all the mention which Herodotus makes of the ancient Thebes, is in this passage, and in this slight manner. In book ii. chap. xv. he informs us that all Ægypt was formerly called Thebes.—T.

tians,

tians, to shew their resentment against Phanes, for introducing a foreign army against Ægypt, adopted this expedient: his sons, whom he had left behind, they brought into the camp, and in a conspicuous place, in the sight of their father, they put them one by one to death upon a vessel brought thither for that purpose. When they had done this, they filled the vase which had received the blood with wine and water; having drank which<sup>13</sup>, all the auxiliaries immediately engaged the enemy. The battle was obstinately disputed, but<sup>14</sup> after considerable loss on both sides, the Ægyptians fled.

XII. By the people inhabiting the place where this battle was fought a very surprizing thing was pointed out to my attention. The bones of those who fell in the engagement were soon afterwards collected, and separated into two distinct heaps. It was observed of the Persians, that their heads were so extremely soft as to yield to the slight impression even of a pebble; those of the Ægyptians, on the contrary, were so firm, that the blow of a large stone could hardly break them. The reason which they

<sup>13</sup> *Having drank which.*]—They probably swore at the same time to avenge the treason of Phanes, or perish. The blood of an human victim mixed with wine accompanied the most solemn forms of execration among the ancients. Catiline made use of this superstition to bind his adherents to secrecy: “He carried round,” says Sallust, “the blood of a human victim, mixed with wine; and when all had tasted it, after a set form of execration (sicut in solennibus sacris fieri consuevit) he imparted his design.”—*T.*



gave for this was very satisfactory—the Ægyptians from a very early age shave their heads<sup>14</sup>, which by being constantly exposed to the action of the sun, become firm and hard; this treatment also prevents baldness, very few instances of which are ever to be seen in Ægypt. Why the skulls of the Persians are so soft may be explained from their being from their infancy accustomed to shelter from the sun, by their constant use of turbans. I saw the very same fact at Papremis, after examining the bones of those who, under the conduct of Achæmenes<sup>15</sup>, son of Darius, were defeated by Inaros the African.

XIII. The Ægyptians after their defeat fled in great disorder to Memphis. Cambyfes dispatched a Persian up the river in a Mitylenian vessel to treat with them; but as soon as they saw the vessel enter Memphis, they rushed in a croud from the citadel, destroyed

<sup>14</sup> *Shave their heads.*]—The same custom still subsists: I have seen every where the children of the common people, whether running in the fields, assembled round the villages, or swimming in the waters, with their heads shaved and bare. Let us but imagine the hardness a skull must acquire thus exposed to the scorching sun, and we shall not be astonished at the remark of Herodotus.—*Savary.*

<sup>15</sup> *Achæmenes.*]—Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say, that it was Achæmenes, the brother of Xerxes, and uncle of Artaxerxes, the same who before had the government of Ægypt in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, that had the conduct of this war; but herein they were deceived by the similitude of names; for it appears by Ctesias, that he was the son of Hamestris, whom Artaxerxes sent with his army into Ægypt.—*Prideaux.*

the

the vessel, tore the crew in pieces <sup>16</sup>, and afterwards carried them into the citadel. Siege was immediately laid to the place, and the Ægyptians were finally compelled to surrender. Those Africans who lived nearest to Ægypt, apprehensive of a similar fate, submitted without contest, imposing a tribute on themselves, and sending presents to the Persians. Their example was followed by the Cyreneans and Barceans, who were struck with the like panic. The African presents Cambyfes received very graciously, but he expressed much resentment at those of the Cyreneans, as I think, on account of their meanness. They sent him five hundred minæ of silver, which, as soon as he received, with his own hands he threw amongst his soldiers.

XIV. On the tenth day after the surrender of the citadel of Memphis, Psammenitus, the Ægyptian king, who had reigned no more than six months, was by order of Cambyfes ignominiously conducted, with other Ægyptians, to the outside of the walls, and by way of trial of his disposition, thus treated: His daughter, in the habit of a slave, was sent with a pitcher to draw water; she was accompanied by a number of young women clothed in the same garb, and selected from families of the first distinction. They passed, with much and loud lamentation,

<sup>16</sup> *Tore the crew in pieces.*]—They were two hundred in number; this appears from a following paragraph, where we find that for every Mitylenian massacred on this occasion ten Ægyptians were put to death, and that two thousand Ægyptians thus perished.—*Larcher.*

before



before their parents, from whom their treatment excited a correspondent violence of grief. But when Psammenitus beheld the spectacle, he merely declined his eyes upon the ground; when this train was gone by, the son of Psammenitus, with two thousand Ægyptians of the same age, were made to walk in procession with ropes round their necks, and bridles in their mouths. These were intended to avenge the death of those Mitylenians who, with their vessel, had been torn to pieces at Memphis. The king's counsellors had determined that for every one put to death on that occasion ten of the first rank of the Ægyptians should be sacrificed. Psammenitus observed these as they passed, but although he perceived that his son was going to be executed, and whilst all the Ægyptians around him wept and lamented aloud, he continued unmoved as before. When this scene also disappeared, he beheld a venerable personage, who had formerly partaken of the royal table, deprived of all he had possessed, and in the dress of a mendicant asking charity through the different ranks of the army. This man stopped to beg an alms of Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, and the other noble Ægyptians who were sitting with him; which, when Psammenitus beheld, he could no longer suppress his emotions, but calling on his friend by name, wept aloud<sup>17</sup>, and beat his head. This the spies, who were

<sup>17</sup> *Wept aloud.*]—A very strange effect of grief is related by Mr. Gibbon, in the story of Gelimer, king of the Vandals, when after an obstinate resistance he was obliged to surrender himself to Belisarius.

were placed near him to observe his conduct on each incident, reported to Cambyfes; who, in astonishment at such behaviour, sent a messenger, who was thus directed to address him, "Your lord and master, Cambyfes, is desirous to know why, after beholding with so much indifference your daughter treated as a slave, and your son conducted to death, you expressed so lively a concern for that mendicant, who, as he has been informed, is not at all related to you?" Pſammenitus made this reply: "Son of Cyrus, my domestic misfortunes were too great to suffer me to shed tears";

"but

Belisarius. "The first public interview," says our historian, "was in one of the suburbs of Carthage; and when the royal captive accosted his conqueror, he burst into a fit of laughter. The croud might naturally believe that extreme grief had deprived Gelimer of his senses; but in this mournful state unseasonable mirth insinuated to more intelligent observers that the vain and transitory scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a serious thought."

<sup>18</sup> *Shed tears.*]—This idea of extreme affliction or anger tending to check the act of weeping, is expressed by Shakespeare with wonderful sublimity and pathos. It is part of a speech of Lear:

You see me here, ye gods, a poor old man,  
As full of grief as age, wretched in both.  
If it be you that stir these daughters hearts  
Against their father, fool me not so much  
To bear it tamely: Touch me with noble anger,  
And let not women's weapons, water drops,  
Stain my man's cheeks. No, you unnatural hags,  
I will have such revenges on you both  
That all the world shall—I will do such things,

What



“but it was consistent that I should weep for my friend, who, from a station of honour and of wealth, is in the last stage of life reduced to penury.” Cambyfes heard and was satisfied with his answer. The Ægyptians say that Cræsus, who attended Cambyfes in this Ægyptian expedition, wept at the incident. The Persians also who were present were exceedingly moved, and Cambyfes himself yielded so far to compassion, that he ordered the son of Psammenitus to be preserved out of those who had been condemned to die, and Psammenitus himself to be conducted from the place where he was, to his presence.

XV. The emissaries employed for the purpose found the young prince had suffered first, and was already dead; the father they led to Cambyfes, with whom he lived, and received no farther ill treatment; and, could he have refrained from ambitious attempts, would probably have been intrusted with the government of Ægypt. The Persians hold the sons of sovereigns in the greatest reverence, and even if the fathers revolt they will permit the sons to succeed to their authority; that such is really their conduct may be proved by various examples.

What they are yet I know not, but they shall be  
 The terrors of the earth.—You think I’ll weep—  
 No, I’ll not weep. I have full cause of weeping;  
 But this heart shall break into a hundred thousand flaws  
 Or e’er I weep. T.

Thannyras the son of Inarus <sup>19</sup>, received the kingdom which his father governed; Pausiris also, the son of Amyrtæus, was permitted to reign after his father, although the Persians had never met with more obstinate enemies than both Inarus and Amyrtæus. Psammenitus revolted, and suffered for his offence: he was detected in stirring up the Ægyptians to rebel; and being convicted by Cambyfes, was made to drink a quantity of bullock's blood <sup>20</sup>, which immediately occasioned his death.—Such was the end of Psammenitus.

XVI. From Sais, Cambyfes proceeded to Memphis, to execute a purpose he had in view. As soon as he entered the palace of Amasis, he ordered the body of that prince to be removed from his

<sup>19</sup> *Inarus.*]—The revolt of Inarus happened in the first year of the 80th Olympiad, 460 before the Christian æra. He rebelled against Artaxerxes Longimanus, and with the assistance of the Athenians defied the power of Persia for nearly five years. After he was reduced, Amyrtæus held out for some time longer in the marshy country.—The particulars may be found in the first book of Thucydides, chap. civ. &c.

<sup>20</sup> *Bullock's blood.*]—Bull's blood, taken fresh from the animal, was considered by the ancients as a powerful poison, and supposed to act by coagulating in the stomach. Themistocles, and several other personages of antiquity, were said to have died by taking it.—See Plut. in Themist. and Pliny, book xxviii. ch. ix. Aristophanes, in the *Ἰππεις*, alludes to this account of the death of Themistocles.

Βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἶμα ταίρειον πιεῖν

\*Ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς γὰρ θάνατος αἰρετώτερος.

tomb.



comb. When this was done, he commanded it to be beaten with rods, the hair to be plucked out, and the flesh to be goaded with sharp instruments, to which he added other marks of ignominy. As the body was embalmed, their efforts made but little impression; when therefore they were fatigued with these outrages, he ordered it to be burned. In this last act Cambyfes paid no regard to the religion of his country, for the Persians venerate fire as a divinity<sup>21</sup>. The custom of burning the dead does not prevail in either of the two nations; for the reason above mentioned, the Persians do not use it, thinking it profane to feed a divinity with human carcases; and the Ægyptians abhor it, being fully persuaded that fire is a voracious animal, which devours whatever it can seize, and when saturated finally expires with what it has consumed. They hold it unlawful to expose the bodies of the dead<sup>22</sup>

to

<sup>21</sup> *Venerate fire as a divinity.*]—This expression must not be understood in too rigorous a sense. Fire was certainly regarded by the Persians as something sacred, and perhaps they might render it some kind of religious worship, which in its origin referred only to the deity of which this element was an emblem. But it is certain that this nation did not believe fire to be a deity, otherwise how would they have dared to have extinguished it throughout Persia, on the death of the sovereign, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus?—See an epigram of Dioscorides, Brunk's *Analesta*, vol. i. 503.—*Larcher*.

<sup>22</sup> *Bodies of the dead.*]—We learn from Xenophon, that the interment of bodies was common in Greece; and Homer tells us that the custom of burning the dead was in use before the Trojan war. It is therefore probable that both customs were practised at the same time; this was also the case at Rome, as appears



to any animals, for which reason they embalm them, fearing lest, after interment, they might become the prey of worms. The Ægyptians assert, that the above indignities were not inflicted upon the body of Amasis, but that the Persians were deceived, and perpetrated these insults on some other Ægyptian of the same age with that prince. Amasis, they say, was informed by an oracle of the injuries intended against his body, to prevent which he ordered the person who really sustained them, to be buried at the entrance of his tomb, whilst he himself, by his own directions given to his son, was placed in some secret and interior recess of the sepulchre. These assertions I cannot altogether believe, and am rather inclined to impute them to the vanity of the Ægyptians.

from many ancient monuments: the custom, however, of interment, seems to have preceded that of burning. “At mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulturæ genus id fuisse videtur quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus et ita locatum et situm quasi operimento matris obducitur.”—*Cicero de legibus*, lib. ii. 22.

“That seems to me to have been the most ancient kind of burial, which, according to Xenophon, was used by Cyrus. For the body is returned to the earth, and so placed as to be covered with the veil of its mother.” The custom of burning at Rome, according to Montfaucon, ceased about the time of Theodosius the younger.

Sylla was the first of the Cornelian family whose body was burnt, whence some have erroneously advanced that he was the first Roman; but both methods were mentioned in the laws of the twelve tables, and appear to have been equally prevalent. After Sylla, burning became general.—*T.*

XVII. Cambyfes afterwards determined to commence hostilities againſt three nations at once, the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Macrobian \* Æthiopians, who inhabit that part of Lybia which lies towards the ſouthern ocean. He accordingly reſolved to ſend againſt the Carthaginians a naval armament; a detachment of his troops was to attack the Ammonians by land; and he ſent ſpies into Æthiopia, who, under pretence of carrying preſents to the prince, were to aſcertain the reality of the celebrated table of the ſun<sup>23</sup>, and to examine the condition of the country.

XVIII. What they called the table of the ſun was this:—A plain in the vicinity of the city was filled to the height of four feet with the roasted fleſh of all kinds of animals, which was carried there in the night, under the inſpection of the magiſtrates; during the day whoever pleaſed was at liberty to go and ſatiſfy his hunger. The natives of the place affirm, that the earth ſpontaneouſly produces all theſe viands: this, however, is what they term the table of the ſun.

\* *i. e.* long-lived.

<sup>23</sup> *Table of the ſun.*]—Solinus ſpeaks of this table of the ſun as ſomething marvellous, and Pomponius Mela ſeems to have had the ſame idea. Pausanias conſiders what was reported of it as fabulous. “If,” ſays he, “we credit all theſe marvels on the faith of the Greeks, we ought alſo to receive as true what the Æthiopians above Syene relate of the table of the ſun.” In adhering to the recital of Herodotus, a conſiderable portion of the marvellous diſappears.—*Larcher.*



XIX. As soon as Cambyfes had resolved on the measures he meant to pursue, with respect to the Æthiopians, he sent to the city of Elephantine for some of the Ichthyophagi who were skilled in their language. In the mean time he directed his naval forces to proceed against the Carthaginians; but the Phœnicians refused to assist him in this purpose, pleading the solemnity of their engagements with that people, and the impiety of committing acts of violence against their own descendants.—Such was the conduct of the Phœnicians, and the other armaments were not powerful enough to proceed. Thus, therefore, the Carthaginians escaped being made tributary to Persia, for Cambyfes did not choose to use compulsion with the Phœnicians, who had voluntarily become his dependants, and who constituted the most essential part of his naval power. The Cyprians had also submitted without contest to the Persians, and had served in the Ægyptian expedition,

XX. As soon as the Ichthyophagi arrived from Elephantine, Cambyfes dispatched them to Æthiopia. They were commissioned to deliver, with certain presents, a particular message to the prince. The presents consisted of a purple vest, a gold chain for the neck, bracelets, an alabaſter box of perfumes<sup>24</sup>, and a cask of palm wine. The Æthiopians

<sup>24</sup> *Alabaſter box of perfumes.*]—It seems probable that perfumes in more ancient times were kept in shells. Arabia is the country of perfumes, and the Red Sea throws upon the coast a  
number



Æthiopians to whom Cambyſes ſent, are reported to be ſuperior to all other men in the perfections of ſize and beauty: their manners and cuſtoms, which differ alſo from thoſe of all other nations, have beſides this ſingular diſtinction; the ſupreme authority is given to him who excels all his fellow citizens <sup>25</sup> in ſize and proportionable ſtrength.

## XXI.

number of large and beautiful ſhells, very convenient for ſuch a purpoſe.—See Horace:

Funde capacibus  
Unguenta de conchis.

That to make a preſent of perfumes was deemed a mark of reverence and honour in the remotest times amongſt the Orientals, appears from the following paſſage in Daniel.

“Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face and worſhipped Daniel, and commanded that they ſhould offer an oblation and ſweet odours to him.”

See alſo St. Mark, xiv. 3:

“There came a woman having an alabaſter box of ointment of ſpikenard, very precious; and ſhe brake the box, and poured it on his head.”

See alſo Matth. xxvi. 7.

To ſprinkle the apartments and the perſons of the gueſts with roſe-water, and other aromatics, ſtill continues in the Eaſt to be a mark of reſpectful attention.

*Alabaſtron* did not properly ſignify a veſſel made of the ſtone now called alabaſter, but one without handles, *μη εχον λαβας*.

Alabaſter obtained its name from being frequently uſed for this purpoſe; the ancient name for the ſtone was *alabaſtrites*, and perfumes were thought to keep better in it than in any other ſubſtance. Pliny has informed us of the ſhape of theſe veſſels, by comparing to them the pearls called *elenchi*, which are known to have been ſhaped like pears, or, as he expreſſes it, *ſaſtigiata longitudine, alabaſtrorum figura, in pleniorẽ orbem deſinentes*. lib. ix. cap. 35.—T.

<sup>25</sup> *Who excels all his fellow citizens, &c.*]—That the quality of  
C 4 strength

XXI. The Ichthyophagi on their arrival offered the presents, and thus addressed the king: “ Cam-  
 “ byses, sovereign of Persia, from his anxious desire  
 “ of becoming your friend and ally, has sent us to  
 “ communicate with you, and to desire your accep-  
 “ tance of these presents, from the use of which he  
 “ himself derives the greatest pleasure.” The Æthi-  
 opian prince, who was aware of the object they had  
 in view, made them this answer:—“ The king of  
 “ Persia has not sent you with these presents, from  
 “ any desire of obtaining my alliance; neither do you  
 “ speak the truth, who, to facilitate the unjust de-  
 “ signs of your master, are come to examine the state  
 “ of my dominions: if he were influenced by prin-  
 “ ciples of integrity, he would be satisfied with his  
 “ own, and not covet the possessions of another; nor  
 “ would he attempt to reduce those to servitude  
 “ from whom he has received no injury. Give him  
 “ therefore this bow, and in my name speak to him  
 “ thus: The king of Æthiopia sends this counsel to  
 “ the king of Persia—when his subjects shall be  
 “ able to bend this bow with the same ease that I  
 “ do, then with a superiority of numbers he may  
 “ venture to attack the Macrobian Æthiopians. In

strength and accomplishments of person were in the first insti-  
 tution of society the principal recommendations to honour, is  
 thus represented by Lucretius:

Condere caperunt urbeis, arcemque locare  
 Præsidium reges ipsi sibi perfugiumque:  
 Et pecudes et agros divisere atque dedere  
 Pro facie cujusque, et viribus ingenioque  
 Nam facies multum valuit, viresque vige-  
 bant. 9.

“ the



“ the mean time let him be thankful to the gods, that  
 “ the Æthiopians have not been inspired with the  
 “ same ambitious views of extending their posses-  
 “ sions.”

XXII. When he had finished, he unbent the bow and placed it in their hands; after which, taking the purple vest, he enquired what it was, and how it was made: the Ichthyophagi properly explained to him the process by which the purple tincture was communicated; but he told them that they and their vests were alike deceitful. He then made similar enquiries concerning the bracelets and the gold chain for the neck: upon their describing the nature of those ornaments, he laughed, and conceiving them to be chains <sup>26</sup>, remarked, that the Æthiopians

<sup>26</sup> *Conceiving them to be chains.*]—We learn from a passage in Genesis, xxiv. 22, that the bracelets of the Orientals were remarkably heavy; which seems in some measure to justify the sentiment of the Æthiopian prince, who thought them chains simply because they were made of gold, which was used for that purpose in his country.—See chap. xxiii.

“ And it came to pass as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands, of ten shekels weight of gold.”

That the bracelet was formerly an ensign of royalty amongst the Orientals, Mr. Harmer, in his *Observations on Passages of Scripture*, infers from the circumstance of the Amalekites bringing to David the bracelet which he found on Saul's arm, along with his crown. That it was a mark of dignity there can be little doubt; but it by no means follows that it was a mark of royalty, though the remark is certainly ingenious. If it was, there existed a peculiar propriety in making it the part of a present from one prince to another. By the Roman generals they were given to their soldiers, as a reward of bravery. Small chains



Æthiopians possessed much stronger. He proceeded lastly to ask them the use of the perfumes; and when they informed him how they were made and applied, he made the same observation as he had before done of the purple robe<sup>27</sup>. When he came to the wine, and learned how it was made, he

chains were also in the remotest times worn round the neck, not only by women but by the men. That these were also worn by princes appears from Judges, viii. 26.

“And the weight of the golden ear-rings that he requested, was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold; beside ornaments, and *collars*, and purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian; and beside the chains that were about their camels necks.” Which last circumstance tends also to prove that they thus also decorated the animals they used, which fashion is to this day observed by people of distinction in Egypt.—T.

<sup>27</sup> *Purple robe.*]—It is a circumstance well known at present, that on the coast of Guayaquil as well as on that of Guatima, are found those snails which yield the purple dye so celebrated by the ancients, and which the moderns have supposed to have been lost. The shell that contains them is fixed to rocks that are watered by the sea; it is of the size of a large nut. The juice may be extracted from the animal in two ways; some persons kill the animal after they have taken it out of the shell, they then press it from the head to the tail with a knife, and separating from the body that part in which the liquor is collected, they throw away the rest. When this operation, repeated upon several of the snails, hath yielded a certain quantity of the juice, the thread that is to be dyed is dipped in it, and the business is done. The colour, which is at first as white as milk, becomes afterwards green, and does not turn purple till the thread is dry.

We know of no colour that can be compared to the one we have been speaking of, either in lustre or in permanency.—*Raynal*.

Pliny describes the *purpura* as a turbinated shell like the *buccinum*, but with spines upon it; which may lead us to suspect the Abbé's account of the *snails* of a little inaccuracy.—T.

drank

drank it with particular satisfaction; and enquired upon what food the Persian monarch subsisted, and what was the longest period of a Persian's life. The king, they told him, lived chiefly upon bread; and they then described to him the properties of corn: they added, that the longest period of life in Persia was about eighty years. "I am not at all surprized," said the Æthiopian prince, "that, subsisting on  
 "dung, the term of life is so short among them;  
 "and unless," he continued, pointing to the wine,  
 "they mixed it with this liquor, they would not  
 "live so long:" for in this he allowed that they excelled the Æthiopians.

XXIII. The Ichthyophagi in their turn questioned the prince concerning the duration of life in Æthiopia, and the kind of food there in use:—They were told, that the majority of the people lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years, but that some exceeded even that period; that their meat was baked flesh, their drink milk. When the spies expressed astonishment at the length of life in Æthiopia, they were conducted to a certain fountain, in which having bathed, they became shining as if anointed with oil, and diffused from their bodies the perfume of violets. But they asserted that the water of this fountain was of so insubstantial a nature, that neither wood, nor any thing still lighter than wood, would float upon its surface, but every thing instantly sunk to the bottom. If their representation of this water was true, the constant use of it may probably explain the extreme length of life  
 † which



which the Æthiopians attain. From the fountain they were conducted to the public prison, where all that were confined were secured by chains of gold; for among these Æthiopians brass is the rarest of all the metals. After visiting the prison they saw also what is called the table of the sun.

XXIV. Finally they were shewn their coffins<sup>28</sup>, which are said to be constructed of crystal, and in this manner:—After all the moisture is exhausted from

<sup>28</sup> *Coffins.*]—Coffins, though anciently used in the East, and considered as marks of distinction, are not now there applied to the dead either by Turks or Christians.

“With us,” says Mr. Harmer, in his *Observations on Passages of Scripture*, “the poorest people have their coffins: if the relations cannot afford them, the parish is at the expence. In the East, on the contrary, they are not now at all made use of. Turks and Christians, Thevenot assures us, agree in this. The ancient Jews probably buried their dead in the same manner: neither was the body of our Lord, it should seem, put into a coffin, nor that of Elisha, whose bones were touched by the corpse that was let down a little after into his sepulchre, 2 Kings, xiii. 21. That they, however, were anciently made use of in Ægypt, all agree; and antique coffins, of stone and sycamore wood, are still to be seen in that country, not to mention those said to be made of a kind of paste-board, formed by folding and gluing cloth together a great number of times, which were curiously plaistered, and then painted with hieroglyphics. Its being an ancient Ægyptian custom, and its not being used in the neighbouring countries, were doubtless the cause that the sacred historian expressly observes of Joseph, that he was not only embalmed, but put into a coffin too, both being managements peculiar in a manner to the Ægyptians.”—*Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. ii. 154.

Mr. Harmer’s observation in the foregoing note is not strictly true.

from the body, by the Ægyptian or some other process, they cover it totally with a kind of plaster, which they decorate with various colours, and make it convey as near a resemblance as may be of the person of the deceased. They then inclose it in a hollow pillar of crystal <sup>29</sup>, which is dug up in great abundance,

true. The use of coffins might very probably be unknown in Syria, from whence Joseph came ; but that they were used by all nations contiguous on one side at least to Ægypt, the passage before us proves sufficiently. I have not been able to ascertain at what period the use of coffins was introduced in this country, but it appears from the following passage of our celebrated antiquary Mr. Strutt, that from very remote times our ancestors were interred in some kind of coffin. “It was customary in the Christian burials of the Anglo Saxons to leave the head and shoulders of the corpse uncovered till the time of burial, that relations, &c. might take a last view of their deceased friend.” We have also the following in Durant, “Corpus totum at sudore obvolutum ac locuto conditum veteres in cœnaculis, seu tricliniis exponebant.”

We learn from a passage in Strabo, that there was a temple at Alexandria, in which the body of Alexander was deposited, in a coffin of gold ; it was stolen by Seleucus Cybiosactes, who left a coffin of glass in its place. This is the only author, except Herodotus, in whom I can remember to have seen mention made of a coffin of glass. The urns of ancient Rome, in which the ashes of the dead were deposited, were indifferently made of gold, silver, brass, alabaster, porphyry, and marble ; these were externally ornamented according to the rank of the deceased. A minute description of these, with a multitude of specimens, may be seen in Montfaucon.—T.

<sup>29</sup> *Pillar of crystal.*]—“Our glass,” says M. Larcher, “is not the production of the earth, it must be manufactured with much trouble.” According to Ludolf, they find in some parts of Æthiopia large quantities of fossil salt, which is transparent,  
and



abundance, and of a kind that is easily worked. The deceased is very conspicuous through the crystal, has no disagreeable smell, nor any thing else that is offensive. This coffin the nearest relations keep for a twelvemonth in their houses, offering before it different kinds of victims, and the first-fruits of their lands; these are afterwards removed and set up round the city.

XXV. The spies, after executing their commission, returned; and Cambyfes was so exasperated at their recital, that he determined instantly to proceed against the Æthiopians, without ever providing for the necessary sustenance of his army, or reflecting that he was about to visit the extremities of the earth. The moment that he heard the report of the Ichthyophagi, like one deprived of all the powers of reason, he commenced his march with the whole body of his infantry, leaving no forces behind but such Greeks as had accompanied him to Ægypt. On his arrival at Thebes, he selected from his army about fifty thousand men, whom he ordered to make an incursion against the Ammonians, and to burn the place from whence the oracles of Jupiter were delivered: he himself, with the remainder of his

and which indurates in the air: this is perhaps what they took for glass.

We have the testimony of the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that *υαλος*, though afterwards used for glass, signified anciently crystal: as therefore Herodotus informs us that this substance was digged from the earth, why should we hesitate to translate it crystal?—T.

troops,

troops, marched against the Æthiopians. Before he had performed a fifth part of his intended expedition, the provisions he had with him were totally consumed. They proceeded to eat the beasts which carried the baggage, till these also failed. If after these incidents Cambyfes had permitted his passions to cool, and had led his army back again, notwithstanding his indiscretion he still might have deserved praise. Instead of this, his infatuation continued, and he proceeded on his march. The soldiers, as long as the earth afforded them any sustenance, were content to feed on vegetables; but as soon as they arrived among the sands and the deserts, some of them were prompted by famine to proceed to the most horrid extremities. They drew lots, and every tenth man was destined to satisfy the hunger of the rest <sup>30</sup>. When Cambyfes received intelligence of this fact, alarmed at the idea of devouring one another, he abandoned his designs upon

<sup>30</sup> *Satisfy the hunger of the rest.*]—The whole of this narrative is transcribed by Seneca, with some little variation, in his treatise *de Irâ*; who at the conclusion adds, though we know not from what authority, that notwithstanding these dreadful sufferings of his troops, the king's table was served with abundance of delicacies. *Servabantur interim illi generosæ aves et instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur.*

Perhaps the most horrid example on record of suffering from famine, is the description given by Josephus of the siege of Jerusalem. Eleven thousand prisoners were starved to death after the capture of the city, during the storm. Whilst the Romans were engaged in pillage, on entering several houses they found whole families dead, and the houses crammed with starved carcases; but what is still more shocking, it was a notorious fact, that a mother killed, dressed, and eat her own child.—T.

the



the Æthiopians, and returning homeward arrived at length at Thebes, after losing a considerable number of his men. From Thebes he proceeded to Memphis, from whence he permitted the Greeks to embark.—Such was the termination of the Æthiopian expedition.

XXVI. The troops who were dispatched against the Ammonians left Thebes with guides, and penetrated, as it should seem, as far as Oasis. This place is distant from Thebes about a seven days journey over the sands, and is said to be inhabited by Samians, of the Æschryonian tribe. The country is called in Greek, “The happy Islands.” The army is reported to have proceeded thus far; but what afterwards became of them it is impossible to know, except from the Ammonians, or those whom the Ammonians have instructed on this head. It is certain that they never arrived among the Ammonians, and that they never returned<sup>31</sup>. The Ammonians affirm, that as they were marching forwards from Oasis through the sands, they halted at some place of middle distance, for the purpose of taking repast, which whilst they were doing, a strong south wind

<sup>31</sup> *Never returned.*]—The route of the army makes it plain that the guides, who detested the Persians, led them astray amidst the deserts; for they should have departed from the lake Mareotis to this temple, or from the environs of Memphis. The Ægyptians, intending the destruction of their enemies, led them from Thebes to the great Oasis, three days journey from Abydus; and having brought them into the vast solitudes of Lybia, they no doubt abandoned them in the night, and delivered them over to death.—*Savary*.

arose, and overwhelmed them beneath a mountain of sand<sup>32</sup>, so that they were seen no more.—Such, as the Ammonians relate, was the fate of this army.

XXVII. Soon after the return of Cambyfes to Memphis, the god Apis appeared, called by the Greeks Epaphus<sup>33</sup>. Upon this occasion the Ægyptians clothed themselves in their richest apparel, and made great rejoicings. Cambyfes took notice of this, and imagined it was done on account of his late unfortunate projects. He ordered, therefore, the magistrates of Memphis to attend him; and he asked them why they had done nothing of this kind when he was formerly at Memphis, and had only made

<sup>32</sup> *Mountain of sand.*]—What happens at present in performing this journey, proves the event to be very credible. Travellers, departing from the fertile valley lying under the tropic, march seven days before they come to the first town in Æthiopia. They find their way in the day-time by looking at marks, and at night by observing the stars. The sand-hills they had observed on the preceding journey having often been carried away by the winds, deceive the guides; and if they wander the least out of the road, the camels, having passed five or six days without drinking, sink under their burden, and die: the men are not long before they submit to the same fate, and sometimes, out of a great number, not a single traveller escapes; at others the burning winds from the south raise vortexes of dust, which suffocate man and beast, and the next caravan sees the ground strewed with bodies totally parched up.—*Savary*.

<sup>33</sup> *Epaphus.*]—Epaphus was the son of Io, the daughter of Inachus. The Greeks pretended he was the same person as the god Apis; this the Ægyptians rejected as fabulous, and asserted that Epaphus was posterior to Apis by many centuries.



rejoicings now that he had returned with the loss of so many of his troops. They told him, that their deity <sup>34</sup> had appeared to them, which after a long absence

<sup>34</sup> *Their deity.*]—It is probable that Apis was not always considered as a deity; perhaps they regarded him as a symbol of Osiris, and it was from this that the Ægyptians were induced to pay him veneration. Others assert confidently that he was the same as Osiris; and some have said, that Osiris having been killed by Typhon, Isis inclosed his limbs in an heifer made of wood. Apis was sacred to the moon, as was the bull Mnevis to the sun. Others supposed, that both were sacred to Osiris, who is the same with the sun. When he died there was an universal mourning in Ægypt. They sought for another, and having found him, the mourning ended. The priests conducted him to Nileopolis, where they kept him forty days. They afterwards removed him in a magnificent vessel to Memphis, where he had an apartment ornamented with gold. During the forty days above mentioned the women only were suffered to see him. They stood round him, and lifting up their garments, discovered to him what modesty forbids us to name. Afterwards the sight of the god was forbidden them.

Every year they brought him a heifer, which had also certain marks. According to the sacred books, he was only permitted to live a stipulated time; when this came he was drowned in a sacred fountain.—*Larcher.*

A few other particulars concerning this Apis may not be unacceptable to an English reader.

The homage paid him was not confined to Ægypt; many illustrious conquerors and princes of foreign nations, Alexander, Titus, and Adrian, bowed themselves before him. Larcher says that he was considered as sacred to the moon; but Porphyry expressly says, that he was sacred to both sun and moon. The following passage is from Plutarch: “The priests affirm that the moon sheds a generative light, with which should a cow wanting the bull be struck, she conceives Apis, who bears the sign of  
that

abſence it was his cuſtom to do; and that when this happened, it was cuſtomary for all the Ægyptians to hold a ſolemn feſtival. Cambyſes diſbelieved what they told him, and condemned them to death, as guilty of falſhood.

XXVIII. As ſoon as they were executed, he ſent for the prieſts, from whom he received the ſame answer. “If,” ſaid he, “any deity has ſhown “himſelf familiarly in Ægypt, I muſt ſee and “know him.” He then commanded them to bring Apis before him, which they prepared to do. This Apis, or Epaphus, is the calf of a cow which can have no more young. The Ægyptians ſay, that on this occaſion the cow is ſtruck with lightning, from which ſhe conceives and brings forth Apis. The young one ſo produced, and thus named, is known by certain marks: The ſkin is black, but on its forehead is a white ſtar of a triangular

that planet.” Strabo ſays, that he was brought out from his apartment to gratify the curioſity of ſtrangers, and might alſo be ſeen through a window. Pliny relates with great ſolemnity that he reſuſed food from the hand of Germanicus, who died ſoon after; and one ancient hiſtorian aſſerts, that during the ſeven days when the birth of Apis was celebrated, crocodiles forgot their natural ferocity, and became tame.

The biſhop of Avranches, M. Huet, endeavoured to prove that Apis was a ſymbol of the patriarch Joſeph.

It has been generally allowed, that Osiris was revered in the homage paid to Apis. Osiris introduced agriculture, in which the utility of the bull is obvious; and this appears to be the moſt rational explanation that can be given of this part of the Ægyptian ſuperſtition. *See Savary, Pococke, &c.—T.*



form. It has the figure of an eagle on the back, the tail<sup>35</sup> is divided, and under the tongue<sup>36</sup> it has an insect like a beetle.

XXIX. When the priests conducted Apis to his presence, Cambyfes was transported with rage. He drew his dagger, and endeavouring to stab him in the belly, wounded him in the thigh; then turning to the priests with an insulting smile, "Wretches," he exclaimed, "think ye that gods are formed of flesh and blood, and thus susceptible of wounds? This, indeed, is a deity worthy of Ægyptians: but you shall find that I am not to be mocked with impunity." He then called the proper officers, and commanded the priests to be scourged: he directed also that whatever Ægyptian was found celebrating this festival should be put to death. The priests were thus punished, and no further solemnities observed. Apis himself languished and died in the temple, from the wound of his thigh,

<sup>35</sup> *The tail.*]—The Scholiast of Ptolemy says, but I know not on what authority, that the tail of the bull encreased or diminished according to the age of the moon.—*Larcher.*

<sup>36</sup> *Under the tongue.*]—In all the copies of Herodotus, it is *ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλῶσσῃ*, upon the tongue; but it is plain from Pliny and Eusebius that it ought to be *ὑπο*, under. The former explains what it was, *Nodus sub lingua quem cantharus appellant*, "a knot under the tongue, which they call cantharus, or the beetle." viii. 46. The spot on the forehead is also changed by the commentators from quadrangular to triangular. Pliny mentions also a mark like a crescent on the right side, and is silent about the eagle. The beetle was considered as an emblem of the sun.—*T.*

and was buried<sup>37</sup> by the priests without the knowledge of Cambyfes.

XXX. The Ægyptians affirm, that in consequence of this impiety Cambyfes became immediately insane, who indeed did not before appear to have the proper use of his reason. The first impulse of his fury was directed against Smerdis, his own brother, who had become the object of his jealousy, because he was the only Persian who had been able to bend the bow which the Ichthyophagi brought from Æthiopia, the breadth of two fingers. He was therefore ordered to return to Persia, where as soon as he came Cambyfes saw this vision: a messenger appeared to arrive from Persia, informing him that Smerdis, seated on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. Cambyfes was instantly struck with the apprehension that Smerdis would kill him, and seize his dominions; to prevent which he dispatched Prexaspes, a Persian, and one of his most faithful adherents, to put him to death. He arrived at Susa, and destroyed Smerdis, some say, by taking him aside whilst engaged in the diversion of the chace; others believe that he drowned him in the Red Sea; this, however, was the commencement of the calamities of Cambyfes.

XXXI. The next victim of his fury was his

<sup>37</sup> *Buried by the priests.*]—This account is contradicted by Plutarch, who tells us, that Apis having been slain by Cambyfes, was by his order exposed and devoured by dogs.—T.



sister, who had accompanied him to Ægypt. She was also his wife, which thing he thus accomplished: before this prince, no Persian had ever been known to marry his sister<sup>38</sup>; but Cambyfes, being passionately fond of one of his, and knowing that there was no precedent to justify his making her his wife, assembled those who were called the royal judges; of them he desired to know whether there was any law which would permit a brother to marry his sister, if he thought proper to do so. The royal judges in Persia are men of the most approved integrity, who hold their places for life, or till they shall be convicted of some crime<sup>39</sup>,

<sup>38</sup> *Marry his sister.*]—Ingenious and learned men of all ages have amused themselves with drawing a comparison betwixt the laws of Solon and Lycurgus. The following particularity affords ample room for conjecture and discussion: At Athens a man was suffered to marry his sister by the father, but forbidden to marry his sister by the mother. At Lacedæmon things were totally reversed, a man was allowed to marry his sister by the mother, and forbidden to marry his sister by the father.—See what Bayle says on the circumstance of a man's marrying his sister, article *Sarah*.—*T.*

<sup>39</sup> *Of some crime.*]—An appointment like this, manifestly leading to corruption, and the perversion of justice, prevailed in this country with respect to judges, till the reign of George the Third, when a law was passed, the wisdom of which cannot be sufficiently admired, making the judges independent of the king, his ministers, and successors. Yet, however this provision may in appearance diminish the strength of the executive power, the riot-act, combined with the assistance of the standing army, which is always kept up in this country, add as much to the influence of the crown, as it may at first sight seem to have lost in prerogative. Such, however, was the opinion of judge Blackstone.—*T.*

Every

Every thing is referred to their decision, they are the interpreters of the laws, and determine all private disputes. In answer to the enquiry of Cambyfes, they replied shrewdly, though with truth, that although they could find no law which would permit a brother to marry his sister, they had discovered one which enabled a monarch of Persia to do what he pleased. In this answer the awe of Cambyfes prevented their adopting literally the spirit of the Persian laws; and to secure their persons, they took care to discover what would justify him who wished to marry his sister. Cambyfes, therefore, instantly married the sister whom he loved <sup>40</sup>, and not long afterwards a second <sup>41</sup>. The younger of these, who accompanied him to Ægypt, he put to death,

XXXII. The manner of her death, like that of Smerdis, is differently related. The Greeks say that Cambyfes made the cub of a lioness and a young whelp engage each other, and that this princess was present at the combat; and when this latter was vanquished, another whelp of the same litter broke what confined it, and flew to assist the other, and that both together were too much for the young lion. Cambyfes seeing this, expressed great satisfaction; but the princess burst into tears. Camby-

<sup>40</sup> *Whom he loved.*]—Her name, according to the Scholiast of Lucian, was Atossia, who next married Smerdis, one of the magi, and afterwards Darius, son of Hystaspes.—*Larcher*.

<sup>41</sup> *Afterwards a second.*]—If Libanius may be credited, the name of this lady was Meroë.—*Wesseling*.



ses observed her weep, and enquired the reason; she answered, that seeing one whelp assist another of the same brood, she could not but remember Smerdis, whose death she feared nobody would revenge. For which saying, the Greeks affirm, that Cambyfes put her to death. On the contrary, if we may believe the Ægyptians, this princess was sitting at table with her husband, and took a lettuce in her hand, dividing it leaf by leaf: "Which," said she, "seems in your eyes most agreeable, this lettuce whole, or divided into leaves?" He replied, "When whole." "You," says she, "resemble this lettuce, as I have divided it, for you have thus torn in sunder the house of Cyrus." Cambyfes was so greatly incensed, that he threw her down, and leaped upon her; and being pregnant, she was delivered before her time, and lost her life.

XXXIII. To such excesses in his own family was Cambyfes impelled, either on account of his impious treatment of Apis, or from some other of those numerous calamities which afflict mankind. From the first hour of his birth he laboured under what by some is termed the sacred disease. It is, therefore, by no means astonishing that so great a bodily infirmity should at length injure the mind.

XXXIV. His phrenzy, however, extended to the other Persians. He once made a remarkable speech to Prexaspes, for whom he professed the greatest regard, who received all petitions to the king, and whose son enjoyed the honourable office  
of

of royal cup-bearer. "What," says he, upon some occasion, "do the Persians think of me, or in what terms do they speak of me?" "Sir," he replied, "in all other respects they speak of you with honour; but it is the general opinion that you are too much addicted to wine." "What!" returned the prince in anger, "I suppose they say that I drink to excess, and am deprived of reason; their former praise, therefore, could not be sincere." At some preceding period he had asked of those whom he used most familiarly, and of Cræsus among the rest, whether they thought he had equalled the greatness of his father Cyrus. In reply they told him, that he was the greater of the two, for that to all which Cyrus had possessed, he had added the empire of Ægypt and of the ocean. Cræsus, who was present, did not assent to this. "Sir," said he to Cambyfes, "in my opinion you are not equal to your father; you have not such a son as he left behind him." Which speech of Cræsus was highly agreeable to Cambyfes.

XXXV. Remembering this, he turned with great anger to Prexaspes: "You," said he, "shall presently be witness of the truth or falsehood of what the Persians say. If I hit directly through the heart<sup>42</sup> your son, who stands yonder, it will  
" be

<sup>42</sup> *Through the heart.*]—The story of William Tell, the great deliverer of the Swiss cantons from the yoke of the Germans, may be properly introduced in this place. Grissler governed Switzerland for the Emperor Albert. He ordered William Tell,  
a Swiss



“be evident that they speak of me maliciously; if I miss my aim, they will say true in affirming that I am mad.” No sooner had he spoken, than he bent his bow, and struck the young man. When he fell, the king ordered his body to be opened, and the wound to be examined. He was rejoiced to find that the arrow had penetrated his heart; and turning to the father with a malicious smile, “You observe,” said he, “that it is not I that am mad, but the Persians who are foolish. Tell me,” he continued, “if you ever saw a man send an arrow surer to its mark?” Prexaspes, seeing he was mad, and fearing for himself, replied, “I do not think, Sir, that even a deity could have aimed so well.”—Such was his treatment of Prexaspes. At another time, without the smallest provocation, he commanded twelve Persians of distinction to be interred alive.

a Swiss of some importance, for a pretended offence, to place an apple on the head of one of his children, and to hit it, on pain of death, with an arrow. He was dexterous enough to do so, without hurting his child. Grissler, when the affair was over, took notice that Tell had another arrow concealed under his cloak, and asked him what it was for? “I intended,” replied Tell, “to have shot you to the heart, if I had killed my child.” The governor ordered Tell to be hanged; but the Swiss, defending their countryman, flew to arms, destroyed their governor, and made themselves independent. See this historical anecdote referred to by Smollet, in his sublime Ode to Independence.

Who with the generous rustics fate  
On Uri's rock, in close divan,  
And wing'd that arrow, sure as fate,  
Which ascertain'd the sacred rights of man.—7.

XXXVI.

XXXVI. Whilst he was pursuing these extravagancies, Cræsus gave him this advice: "Do not, Sir, yield thus intemperately to the warmth of your age and of your temper. Restrain yourself, and remember that moderation is the part of a wise man, and it becomes every one to weigh the consequences of his actions. Without any adequate offence you destroy your fellow-citizens, and put even children to death. If you continue these excesses, the Persians may be induced to revolt from you. In giving you these admonitions, I do but fulfil the injunctions which the king your father repeatedly laid upon me, to warn you of whatever I thought necessary to your welfare."

Kind as were the intentions of Cræsus, he received this answer from Cambyles: "I am astonished at your presumption in speaking to me thus, as if you had been remarkable either for the judicious government of your own dominions, or for the wise advice which you gave my father. I cannot forget that, instead of waiting for the attack of the Massagetæ, you counselled him to advance and encounter them in their own territories. By your misconduct you lost your own dominions, and by your ill advice were the cause of my father's ruin. But do not expect to escape with impunity; indeed I have long wished for an opportunity to punish you." He then eagerly snatched his bow <sup>43</sup>, intending to pierce Cræsus with an arrow, but

<sup>43</sup> *Snatched his bow,*]—The mental derangement under which Sāul laboured, previous to the elevation of David, bears some resemblance



but by an expeditious flight he escaped. Cambyſes inſtantly ordered him to be ſeized and put to death; but as his officers were well acquainted with their prince's character, they concealed Crœſus, thinking that if at any future period he ſhould expreſs contrition, they might by producing him obtain a reward; but if no farther enquiries were made concerning him, they might then kill him. Not long afterwards Cambyſes expreſſed regret for Crœſus, which when his attendants perceived, they told him that he was alive. He expreſſed particular ſatisfaction at the preſervation of Crœſus, but he would not forgive the diſobedience of his ſervants, who were accordingly executed.

XXXVII. Many things of this kind did he perpetrate againſt the Perſians and his allies, whiſt he ſtayed at Memphis: neither did he hesitate to violate the tombs, and examine the bodies of the dead. He once entered the temple of Vulcan, and treated the ſhrine of that deity with much contempt. The ſtatue of this god exceedingly reſembles the *Patraici* which the Phœnicians place at the prow of their triremes: they who have not ſeen them, may ſuppoſe them to reſemble the figure of a pigmy. Cambyſes alſo entered the temple of the *Cabiri* <sup>44</sup>, to which acceſs is denied to all but the prieſts. He

reſemblance to the character here given of Cambyſes; and the eſcape of the ſon of Jeſſe from the javelin of the king of Iſrael, will admit of a compariſon with that of Crœſus from the arrow of Cambyſes.—*T.*

<sup>44</sup> *Cabiri.*]—Concerning theſe ſee book ii. chap. li.

burned their statues, after exercising upon them his wit and raillery. These statues resemble Vulcan, whose sons the Cabiri are supposed to be.

XXXVIII. For my own part I am satisfied that Cambyfes was deprived of his reason; he would not otherwise have disturbed the sanctity of temples, or of established customs. Whoever had the opportunity of choosing for their own observance, from all the nations of the world, such laws and customs as to them seemed the best, would, I am of opinion, after the most careful examination, adhere to their own. Each nation believes that their own laws are by far the most excellent; no one, therefore, but a madman, would treat such prejudices with contempt. That all men are really thus tenacious of their own customs, appears from this, amongst other instances: Darius once sent for such of the Greeks as were dependent on his power, and asked them what reward would induce them to eat the bodies of their deceased parents; they replied that no sum could prevail on them to commit such a deed. In the presence of the same Greeks, who by an interpreter were informed of what passed, he sent also for the Callatiæ, a people of India known to eat the bodies of their parents. He asked them for what sum they would consent to burn the bodies of their parents. The Indians were disgusted at the question, and intreated him to forbear such language.—Such is the force of custom; and Pindar <sup>45</sup> seems to me to have spoken with peculiar

<sup>45</sup> *Pindar.*]—The passage in Pindar which is here referred to,



culiar propriety, when he observed that custom<sup>46</sup> was the universal sovereign.

XXXIX. Whilst Cambyſes was engaged in his Ægyptian expedition, the Lacedæmonians were proſecuting a war againſt Polycrates; the ſon of Æaces, who had forcibly poſſeſſed himſelf of Samos. He had divided it into three parts, aſſigning one ſeverally to his brothers Pantagnotus and Syloſon. He afterwards, having killed Pantagnotus, and baniſhed Syloſon, who was the younger, ſeized the whole. Whilst he was thus circumſtanced, he

is preſerved in the Scholia ad Nem. ix. 35. It is this:—*Νομος ἰ παντων βασιλος θιατοι τε κη αθανατων ανη δικαιων το βαιοτατον υπερτατη χειρι.*—“Custom is the ſovereign of mortals and of gods; with its powerful hand it regulates things the moſt violent.”  
—T.

<sup>46</sup> *Custom.*]—Many writers on this ſubject appear not to have diſcriminated accurately betwixt cuſtom and habit: the ſovereign power of both muſt be confeſſed; but it will be found, on due deliberation, that cuſtom has reference to the action, and habit to the actor. That the Athenians, the moſt refined and poliſhed nation of the world, could bear to ſee human ſacrifices repreſented on their theatres, could liſten with applauſe and with delight to the miſery of Œdipus, and the madneſs of Oreſtes, is to be accounted for alone from the powerful operation of their national cuſtoms. The equally forcible ſway of habit, referring to an individual, was never perhaps expreſſed with ſo much beauty as in the following lines of our favourite Shakeſpeare:

How uſe doth breed a habit in a man !  
This ſhadowy deſert, unfrequented woods,  
I better brook than flouriſhing peopled towns,  
Here I can ſit alone, unſeen of any,  
And to the nightingale's complaining notes  
Tune my diſtreſſes, and record my woes.

T.

made

made a treaty of alliance with Amasis, king of Ægypt, which was cemented by various presents on both sides. His fame had so increased, that he was celebrated through Ionia and the rest of Greece. Success attended all his military undertakings; he had a hundred fifty-oared vessels, and a thousand archers. He made no discrimination in the objects of his attacks, thinking that he conferred a greater favour <sup>47</sup> even on a friend, by restoring what he had violently taken, than by not molesting him at all. He took a great number of islands, and became master of several cities on the continent. The Lesbians, who with all their forces were proceeding to assist the Milesians, he attacked and conquered in a great sea-fight. Those whom he made prisoners he put in chains, and compelled to sink the trench <sup>48</sup> which surrounds the walls of Samos.

XL. The great prosperity of Polycrates excited both the attention and anxiety of Amasis. As his

<sup>47</sup> *A greater favour.*]—This sentiment is false, and Libanius seems to me to have spoken with truth, when, in a discourse which is not come down to us, he says, “An instance of good fortune never gives a man so much satisfaction as the loss of it does uneasiness.”—*Larcher*.

<sup>48</sup> *Sink the trench.*]—It would be an interesting labour to investigate, from ages the most remote and nations the most barbarous, the various treatment which prisoners of war have experienced: from the period, and from those who put in practice against their unfortunate captives every species of oppression and of cruelty, to the present period, when the refinement of manners, and the progress of the milder virtues, softens the asperity, and takes much from the horrors of war.—*T*.



success continually encreased, he was induced to write and send this letter to Sâmos.

“ AMASIS to POLYCRATES.

“ THE success of a friend and an ally fills me  
 “ with particular satisfaction; but as I know the  
 “ invidiousness of fortune<sup>49</sup>, your extraordinary  
 “ prosperity

<sup>49</sup> *Invidiousness of fortune.*]—Three very distinct qualities of mind have been imputed to the three Greek historians, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, with respect to their manner of reflecting on the facts which they relate. Of the first it has been said that he seems to have considered the deity as viewing man with a jealous eye, as only promoting his successes to make the catastrophe of his fate the more calamitous. This is pointed out by Plutarch with the severest reprehension. Thucydides, on the contrary, admits of no divine interposition in human affairs, but makes the good or ill fortune of those whose history he gives us depend on the wisdom or folly of their own conduct. Xenophon, in distinction from both, invariably considers the kindness or the vengeance of heaven as influencing the event of human enterprizes. “ That is,” says the Abbé Barthelemy, “ according to the first, all sublunary things are governed by a fatality; according to the second, by human prudence; according to the last, by the piety of the individual.”—The inconstancy of fortune is admirably described in the following passage from Horace, and with the sentiment with which the lines conclude every ingenuous mind must desire to be in unison.

Fortuna sævo læta negotio  
 Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax  
 Transmutat incertos honores  
 Nunc mihi, nunc aliis benigna.  
 Laudo manentem : si celeres quatit  
 Pennas resigno quæ dedit et meâ

Virtute.

“ prosperity excites my apprehensions. If I might  
 “ determine for myself, and for those whom I re-  
 “ gard, I would rather have my affairs sometimes  
 “ flattering, and sometimes perverse. I would wish  
 “ to pass through life with the alternate experience  
 “ of good and evil, rather than with uninterrupted  
 “ good fortune. I do not remember to have heard  
 “ of any man remarkable for a constant succession of  
 “ prosperous events, whose end has not been final-  
 “ ly calamitous. If, therefore, you value my coun-  
 “ sel, you will provide this remedy against the excess  
 “ of your prosperity:—Examine well what thing  
 “ it is which you deem of the highest consequence  
 “ to your happiness, and the loss of which would  
 “ most afflict you. When you shall have ascertained  
 “ this, banish it from you, so that there may be no  
 “ possibility of its return. If after this your good  
 “ fortune still continue, without diminution or  
 “ change, you will do well to repeat the remedy  
 “ I propose.”

XLI. Polycrates received this letter, and seriously

Virtute me involvo, probamque  
 Pauperiem sine dote quaero.

It would be inexcusable not to insert Dryden's version, or rather paraphrase, of the above passage.

Fortune, that with malicious joy  
 Does man her slave oppress,  
 Proud of her office to destroy,  
 Is seldom pleas'd to bless:  
 Still various, and inconstant still,  
 But with an inclination to be ill,



ly deliberated on its contents. The advice of Amasis appeared sagacious, and he resolved to follow it. He accordingly searched among his treasures for something, the loss of which would most afflict him. He conceived this to be a seal-ring<sup>50</sup>, which he occasionally wore; it was an emerald

Promotes, degrades, delights in strife,  
And makes a lottery of life.

I can enjoy her while she's kind,

But when she dances in the wind,

And shakes the wings, and will not stay,

I puff the prostitute away:

The little or the much she gave is quietly resign'd.

Content with poverty, my soul I arm,

And virtue, tho' in rags, will keep me warm. T.

<sup>50</sup> *A seal-ring.*]—This ring has been the subject of some controversy amongst the learned, both as to what it represented, and of what precious stone it was formed.

Clemens Alexandrinus says it represented a lyre. Pliny says it was a sardonyx; and that in his time there existed one in the temple of Concord, the gift of Augustus, affirmed to be this of Polycrates. Solinus asserts also, that it was a sardonyx; but Herodotus expressly tells us, it was an emerald. At this period the art of engraving precious stones must have been in its infancy, which might probably enhance the value of his ring to Polycrates. It is a little remarkable that the moderns have never been able to equal the ancients in the exquisite delicacy and beauty of their performances on precious stones. Perhaps it may not be too much to add, that we have never attained the perfection with which they executed all works in miniature. Pliny says, that Cicero once saw the Iliad of Homer written so very finely, that it might have been contained 'in nucē', in a nutshell. Aulus Gellius mentions a pigeon made of wood, which imitated the motions of a living bird; and Ælian speaks of an artist, who wrote a distich in letters of gold, which he inclosed in the rind of a grain of corn. Other instances of a similar kind

emerald set in gold, and the workmanship of Theodorus the Samian, the son of Telecles. Of this determining to deprive himself, he embarked in a fifty-oared vessel, with orders to be carried into the open sea: when he was at some distance from the island, in the presence of all his attendants, he took the ring from his finger and cast it into the sea; this done he sailed back again.

XLII. Returning home he regretted his loss, but in the course of five or six days this accident occurred:—A fisherman caught a fish of such size and beauty, that he deemed it a proper present for Polycrates. He went therefore to the palace, and demanded an audience; being admitted, he presented his fish to Polycrates, with these words: “Al-  
“ though, sir, I live by the produce of my industry,  
“ I could not think of exposing this fish which I  
“ have taken, to sale in the market-place, believing  
“ it worthy of you to accept, which I hope you  
“ will.” The king was much gratified, and made him this reply: “My good friend, your present  
“ and your speech are equally acceptable to me;  
“ and I beg that I may see you at supper <sup>51</sup>.” The  
fisherman,

are collected by the learned Mr. Dutens, in his Enquiry into the Origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns.—T.

<sup>51</sup> See you at supper.]—The circumstance of a sovereign prince asking a common fisherman to sup with him, seems at first sight so entirely repugnant, not only to modern manners but also to consistency, as to justify disgust and provoke suspicion. But let it be remembered, that in ancient times the rites of hospitality were paid without any distinction of person; and the same simplicity of manners, which would allow an individual of the



fisherman, delighted with his reception, returned to his house. The servants proceeding to open the fish, found in its paunch the ring of Polycrates; with great eagerness and joy they hastened to carry it to the king, telling him where they had met with it. Polycrates concluded that this incident bore evident marks of divine interposition; he therefore wrote down every particular of what had happened, and transmitted it to Ægypt.

XLIII. Amasis, after perusing the letter of his friend, was convinced that it was impossible for one mortal to deliver another from the destiny which awaited him; he was satisfied that Polycrates could not terminate his days in tranquillity, whose good fortune had never suffered interruption, and who had even recovered what he had taken pains to lose. He sent therefore a herald to Samos, to disclaim all future connection<sup>52</sup>; his motive for doing which was the

meanest rank to solicit and obtain an audience of his prince, diminishes the act of condescension which is here recorded, and which to a modern reader may appear ridiculous.—T.

<sup>52</sup> *Future connection.*]—This may be adduced as one amongst numerous other instances, to prove, that where the human mind has no solid hopes of the future, nor any firm basis of religious faith, the conduct will ever be wayward and irregular; and although there may exist great qualities, capable of occasionally splendid actions, there will also be extraordinary weaknesses, irreconcilable to common sense or common humanity. Diodorus Siculus, however, gives a very different account of the matter, and ascribes the behaviour of Amasis to a very different motive:—"The Ægyptian," says he, "was so disgusted with

the apprehension, that in any future calamity which might befall Polycrates, he, as a friend and ally, might be obliged to bear a part.

XLIV. Against this Polycrates, in all things so prosperous, the Lacedæmonians undertook an expedition, to which they were induced by those Samians who afterwards built the city of Cydon in Crete<sup>53</sup>. To counteract this blow, Polycrates sent privately to Cambyfes, who was then preparing for hostilities against Ægypt, entreating him to demand supplies and assistance of the Samians. With this Cambyfes willingly complied, and sent to solicit, in favour of Polycrates, some naval force to serve in his Ægyptian expedition. Those whose principles and intentions he most suspected the Samian prince selected from the rest, and sent in forty triremes to Cambyfes, requesting him by all means to prevent their return.

XLV. There are some who assert that the Samians sent by Polycrates, never arrived in Ægypt, but that as soon as they reached the Carpathian sea, they consulted together, and determined to proceed

with the tyrannical behaviour of Polycrates, not only to his subjects but to strangers, that he foresaw his fate to be unavoidable, and therefore was cautious not to be involved in his ruin."—T.

<sup>53</sup> *Cydon in Crete.*]—This place is now called Canea: some say it was at first called Apollonia, because built by Cydon the son of Apollo. Pausanias says, it was built by Cydon, son of Tegetes. It was once a place of great power, and the largest city in the island; for a description of its present condition, see Savary's *Letters on Greece*.—T.



no further. Others, on the contrary, affirm, that they did arrive in Ægypt, but that they escaped from their guards, and returned to Samos: they add, that Polycrates met and engaged them at sea, where he was defeated; but that landing afterwards on the island, they had a second engagement by land, in which they were totally routed, and obliged to fly to Lacedæmon. They who assert that the Samians returned from Ægypt, and obtained a victory over Polycrates, are in my opinion mistaken; for if their own force was sufficient to overcome him, there was no necessity for their applying to the Lacedæmonians for assistance. Neither is it at all consistent with probability, that a prince who had so many forces under his command, composed as well of foreign auxiliaries as of archers of his own, could possibly be overcome by the few Samians who were returning home. Polycrates, moreover, had in his power the wives and children of his Samian subjects: these were all assembled and confined in his different harbours; and he was determined to destroy them by fire, and the harbours along with them, in case of any treasonable conjunction between the inhabitants and the Samians who were returning.

XLVI. The Samians who were expelled by Polycrates immediately on their arrival at Sparta obtained an audience of the magistrates, and in the language of suppliants spoke a great while. The answer which they first received informed them, that the commencement of their discourse was not remembered; and the conclusion not understood.

At the second interview they simply produced a bread-basket, and complained that it contained no bread; even to this the Lacedæmonians replied, that their observation was unnecessary<sup>54</sup>;—they determined nevertheless to assist them.

XLVII. After the necessary preparations, the Lacedæmonians embarked with an army against Samos: if the Samians may be credited, the conduct of the Lacedæmonians in this business was the effect of gratitude, they themselves having formerly received a supply of ships against the Messenians. But the Lacedæmonians assert, that they engaged in this expedition not so much to satisfy the wishes of those Samians who had sought their assistance, as to obtain satisfaction for an injury which they had formerly received. The Samians had violently taken away a goblet which the Lacedæmonians

<sup>54</sup> *Observation was unnecessary.*]—The Spartans were always remarkable for their contempt of oratory and eloquence. The following curious examples of this are recorded in Sextus Empiricus:—"A young Spartan went abroad, and endeavoured to accomplish himself in the art of speaking; on his return he was punished by the Ephori, for having conceived the design of eluding his countrymen. Another Spartan was sent to Tissaphernes, a Persian satrap, to engage him to prefer the alliance of Sparta to that of Athens; he said but little, but when he found the Athenians employed great pomp and profusion of words, he drew two lines, both terminating in the same point, but one was straight, the other very crooked; pointing these out to Tissaphernes, he merely said, "Choose." The story here related of the Samians, by Herodotus, is found also in Sextus Empiricus, but is by him applied on a different occasion, and to a different people.  
—T.



were carrying to Cræsus, and a corselet<sup>55</sup>, which was given them by Amasis king of Ægypt. This latter incident took place at the interval of a year after the former : the corselet was made of linen, but there were interwoven in the piece a great number of animals richly embroidered with cotton and gold ; every part of it deserved admiration : it was composed of chains, each of which contained three hundred and sixty threads distinctly visible. Amasis presented another corselet, entirely resembling this, to the Minerva of Lindus.

XLVIII. To this expedition against Samos the Corinthians also contributed with considerable ardour. In the age which preceded, and about the time in which the goblet had been taken, they had been affronted by the Samians. Periander<sup>56</sup>, the son

<sup>55</sup> *A corselet.*]—Some fragments of this were to be seen in the time of Pliny, who complains that so curious a piece of workmanship should be spoiled, by its being unravelled by different people, to gratify curiosity, or to ascertain the fact here asserted.—T.

<sup>56</sup> *Periander.*]—The life of Periander is given by Diogenes Laertius ; from which I have extracted such particulars as seem most worthy the attention of the English reader.

He was of the family of the Heraclidæ ; and the reason of his sending the young Corcyreans, with the purpose mentioned by Herodotus, was on account of their having killed his son, to whom he wished to resign his power. He was the first prince who used guards for the defence of his person. He was by some esteemed one of the seven wise men ; Plato, however, does not admit him amongst them. His celebrated saying was, that "Perseverance may do every thing."

son of Cypselus, had sent to Alyattes, at Sardis, three hundred children of the principal families of the Corcyreans to be made eunuchs. They were entrusted to the care of certain Corinthians, who by distress of weather were compelled to touch at Samos. The Samians soon learned the purpose of the expedition, and accordingly instructed the children to fly for protection to the temple of Diana, from whence they would not suffer the Corinthians to take them. But as the Corinthians prevented their receiving any food, the Samians instituted a festival on the occasion, which they yet observe. At the approach of night, as long as the children continued as suppliants in the temple, they introduced a company of youths and virgins, who in a kind of religious dance, were to carry cakes made of honey and flour<sup>57</sup> in their hands. This was done that the young Corcyreans, by snatching them away, might satisfy their hunger, and was repeated till the Corinthians who guarded the children de-

In an epigram inserted in Stephens's Anthologia, and translated by Aufonius, *χολὴ κρατεῖν* is the maxim attributed to Perriander, "Restrain your anger:" of which rule he must have severely felt the necessity, if, as Laertius relates, he killed his wife Melissa in a transport of passion, by kicking her or throwing a chair at her when pregnant. Her name, according to the same author, was Lyside; Melissa was probably substituted through fondness, certain nymphs and departed human souls being called *Melisse*.—*Menage*. 7.

<sup>57</sup> *Honey and flour.*]—The cakes of Samos were very famous. —See *Athenæus*, book xiv. c. 13,

parted.



parted. The Samians afterwards sent the children back to Corcyra <sup>58</sup>.

XLIX. If after the death of Periander there had existed any friendship betwixt the Corinthians and the Corcyreans, it might be supposed that they would not have assisted in this expedition against Samos. But notwithstanding these people had the same origin (the Corinthians having built Corcyra) they had always lived in a state of enmity. The Corinthians, therefore, did not forget the affront which they had received at Samos; and it was in resentment of injuries formerly received from the Corcyreans, that Periander had sent to Sardis these three hundred youths of the first families of Corcyra, with the intention of their being made eunuchs.

<sup>58</sup> *Back to Corcyra.*]—Plutarch, in his Treatise on the Malignity of Herodotus, says, “that the young Corcyreans were not preserved by the Samians, but by the Cnicians.”—This assertion is examined and refuted by Larcher.

Pliny says, that the fish called echines stopped the vessel going swift before the wind, on board of which were messengers of Periander, having it in command to castrate the sons of the Cnidian noblemen; for which reason these shells were highly revered in the temple of Venus at Cnidos. M. Larcher, avowedly giving the reader the above passage from Pliny, is guilty of a misquotation: “these shells,” says he, “arreterent le vaisseau où étoient ces enfans;” whereas the words of Pliny (see Gronovius’s edition, vol. i. page 609) are these, “Quibus inhærentibus stetit navem portantem nuncios a Periandro ut castrarentur nobiles pueri.”—T.

L. When Periander had put his wife Melissa to death, he was involved in an additional calamity. By Melissa he had two sons, one of whom was seventeen, the other eighteen years old: Procles, their grandfather by the mother's side, had sent for them to Epidaurus, of which place he was prince; and had treated them with all the kindness due to the children of his daughter. At the time appointed for their departure, he took them aside, and asked them if they knew who had killed their mother. To these words the elder brother paid no attention; but the younger, whose name was Lycophon, took it so exceedingly to heart, that at his return to Corinth he would neither salute his father, converse with, nor answer him; in indignation at which behaviour Periander banished him his house.

LI. After the above event Periander asked his elder son, what their grandfather had said to them. The youth informed him, that their grandfather had received them very affectionately, but as he did not remember, he could not relate the words he had used to them at parting. The father, however, continued to press him; saying, it was impossible that their grandfather should dismiss them without some advice. This induced the young man more seriously to reflect on what had passed; and he afterwards informed his father of every particular. Upon this Periander was determined not at all to relax from his severity, but immediately sent to those who had received his son under their protection,



protection, commanding them to dismiss him. Lycophron was thus driven from one place to another, and from thence to a third, and from this last also the severity of Periander expelled him. Yet, fearful as people were to entertain him, he still found an asylum, from the consideration of his being the son of Periander.

LII. Periander at length commanded it to be publicly proclaimed, that whoever harboured his son, or held any conversation with him, should pay a stipulated fine for the use of Apollo's temple. After this no person presumed either to receive or converse with him, and Lycophron himself acquiesced in the injunction, by retiring to the public portico. On the fourth day Periander himself observed him in this situation, covered with rags and perishing with hunger: his heart relenting, he approached, and thus addressed him: "My son, " which do you think preferable, your present extremity of distress, or to return to your obedience, " and share with me my authority and riches? You " who are my son, and a prince of the happy Corinth, choose the life of a mendicant, and persevere in irritating him who has the strongest claims " upon your duty. If the incident which induces " you to think unfavourably of my conduct has " any evil resulting from it, the whole is fallen " upon myself; and I feel it the more sensibly, from " the reflection that I was myself the author of it, " Experience has taught you how much better it is

“to be envied than pitied”<sup>59</sup>, and how dangerous it  
 “is to provoke a superior and a parent—return  
 “therefore to my house.” To this speech Perian-  
 der received no other answer from his son, than that  
 he himself, by conversing with him, had incurred  
 the penalty which his edict had imposed. The  
 king, perceiving the perverseness of his son to be  
 immutable, determined to remove him from his  
 sight; he therefore sent him in a vessel to Corcyra,  
 which place also belonged to him. After this, Pe-  
 riander made war upon his father-in-law Procles,  
 whom he considered as the principal occasion of  
 what had happened. He made himself master of  
 Epidaurus<sup>60</sup>, and took Procles prisoner; whom ne-  
 vertheless he preserved alive.

## LIII.

<sup>59</sup> *Envied than pitied.*]—Of this M. Larcher remarks, that it  
 is a proverbial expression in the French language: it is no less  
 so in our own. The same sentiment in Pindar is referred to by  
 the learned Frenchman, which is thus beautifully translated by  
 Mr. West.

Nor let's distasteful is excessive fame  
 To the sour palate of the envious mind;  
 Who hears with grief his neighbour's goodly name,  
 And hates the fortune that he ne'er shall find;  
 Yet in thy virtue, Hiero, persevere,  
*Since to be envied is a nobler fate*  
*Than to be pitied*, and let strict justice steer  
 With equitable hand the helm of state,  
 And arm thy tongue with truth: Oh king! beware  
 Of every step, a prince can never lightly err. T.

<sup>60</sup> *Epidaurus.*—This was a city of the Peloponnese, famous  
 for a temple of Æsculapius. When the Romans were once  
 afflicted by a grievous pestilence, they were ordered by the  
 oracle



LIII. In process of time, as Periander advanced in years, he began to feel himself inadequate to the cares of government; he sent therefore for Lycophron to Corcyra, to take upon him the administration of affairs: his eldest son appeared improper for such a station, and was indeed dull and stupid. Of the messenger who brought him this intelligence Lycophron disdained to take the smallest notice. But Periander, as he felt his affection for the young man to be unalterable, sent to him his sister, thinking her interposition most likely to succeed. When she saw him, "Brother," said she, "will you suffer the sovereign authority to pass into other hands, and the wealth of our family to be dispersed, rather than return to enjoy them yourself? Let

oracle to bring Æsculapius to Rome; they accordingly dispatched ambassadors to Epidaurus to accomplish this. The Epidaurians refusing to part with their god, the Romans prepared to depart: as their vessel was quitting the port, an immense serpent came swimming towards them, and finally wreathed itself round the prow; the crew, thinking it to be Æsculapius himself, carried him with much veneration to Rome.—His entrance is finely described by Ovid:—

Jamque caput rerum Romanam intraverat urbem  
 Erigitur serpens—summoque acclivia malo  
 Colla movet: sedesque sibi circumspicit aptas.

Which description, fully considered, would perhaps afford no mean subject for an historical painting.

Epidaurus was also famous for its breed of horses.—See *Virgil, Georgic* iii. 43, 4.

Vocat ingenti clamore Citharon  
 Taygetique canes, domitrixque Epidaurus equorum.

The same is also mentioned by Strabo, book viii.—T.

"me

“ me entreat you to punish yourself no more; re-  
“ turn to your country and your family: obsti-  
“ nacy like yours is but an unwelcome guest, it only  
“ adds one evil to another. Pity is by many pre-  
“ ferred to justice; and many, from their anxiety to  
“ fulfil their duty to a mother, have violated that  
“ which a father might expect. Power, which  
“ many so assiduously court, is in its nature preca-  
“ rious. Your father is growing old, do not there-  
“ fore resign to others honours which are properly  
“ your own.” Thus instructed by her father, she  
used every argument likely to influence her brother;  
but he briefly answered, “that as long as his father  
“ lived he would not return to Corinth.” When she  
had communicated this answer to Periander, he  
sent a third messenger to his son, informing him,  
that it was his intention to retire to Corcyra; but  
that he might return to Corinth, and take possession  
of the supreme authority. This proposition was  
accepted, and Periander prepared to depart for  
Corcyra, the young man for Corinth. But when  
the Corcyreans were informed of the business, to  
prevent the arrival of Periander among them they  
put his son to death.—This was what induced that  
prince to take vengeance of the Corcyreans.

LIV. The Lacedæmonians arriving with a pow-  
erful fleet, laid siege to Samos, and advancing to-  
wards the walls, they passed by a tower which stands  
in the suburbs, not far from the sea. At this junc-  
ture Polycrates attacked them, at the head of a  
considerable force, and compelled them to retreat.

He



He was instantly seconded by a band of auxiliaries, and a great number of Samians, who falling upon the enemy from a fort which was behind the mountain, after a short conflict effectually routed them, and continued the pursuit with great slaughter of the Lacedæmonians.

LV. If all the Lacedæmonians in this engagement had behaved like Archias and Lycopas, Samos must certainly have been taken; for these two alone entered the city, with those Samians who sought security within the walls, and having no means of retreat were there slain. I myself one day met with a person of the same name, who was the son of Samius, and grandson of the Archias above-mentioned; I saw him at Pitane<sup>61</sup>, of which place he was a native. This person paid more attention to Samians than to other foreigners; and he told me, that his father was called Samius, as being the

<sup>61</sup> *Pitane*.]—This proper name involves some perplexity, and has afforded exercise for much acute and ingenious criticism. Martiniere, from mistaking a passage of Pausanias, asserts that it was merely a quarter, or rather suburbs of Lacedæmon, and is consequently often confounded with it. This mistake is ably pointed out and refuted by Bellanger, in his *Critique de quelques Articles du Dict. de M. la Martiniere*. This word is found in Hesychius, as descriptive of a distinct tribe; in Thucydides of a small town; and in Herodotus of a whole people:—See book ix. chap. 52, where he speaks of the cohort of Pitane, which in the glorious battle of Platea was commanded by Amompharetus. It is certain that there were several places of this name; the one here specified was doubtless on the banks of the Eurotas, in Laconia.—See *Essais de Critique*, &c. 316.—  
T.

immediate descendant of him, who with so much honour had lost his life at Samos. The reason of his thus distinguishing the Samians, was because they had honoured his grandfather by a public funeral <sup>62</sup>.

LVI. The Lacedæmonians, after remaining forty days before the place without any advantage, returned to the Peloponnese. It is reported, though

<sup>62</sup> *Public funeral.*]—The manner in which the funerals of those who had died in defence of their country were solemnized at Athens, cannot fail of giving the English reader an elevated idea of that polished people.

On an appointed day a number of coffins made of cypress wood, and containing the bones of the deceased, were exposed to view beneath a large tent erected for the purpose; they who had relations to deplore, assembled to weep over them, and pay the duties dictated by tenderness or enjoined by religion. Three days afterwards the coffins were placed upon as many cars as there were tribes, and were carried slowly through the town, to the Ceramicus, where funeral games were celebrated. The bodies were deposited in the earth, and their relations and friends paid for the last time the tribute of their tears; an orator appointed by the republic from an elevated place pronounced a funeral oration over his valiant countrymen; each tribe raised over the graves some kind of column, upon which was inscribed the names of the deceased, their age, and the place where they died.

The above solemnities were conducted under the inspection of one of the principal magistrates.

The most magnificent public funeral of which we have any account, was that of Alexander the Great, when his body was brought from Babylon to Alexandria; a minute description of which is given by Diodorus Siculus.

For a particular description of the ceremonies observed at public and private funerals, amongst the Romans, consult Montfaucon.—*T.*



absurdly enough, that Polycrates struck off a great number of pieces of lead cased with gold<sup>63</sup>, like the coin of the country, and that with these he purchased their departure.—This was the first expedition of the Dorians of Lacedæmon into Asia.

LVII. Those Samians who had taken up arms against Polycrates, when they saw themselves forsaken by the Lacedæmonians, and were distressed from want of money, embarked for Siphnos<sup>64</sup>. At this

<sup>63</sup> *Lead cased with gold.*]—Similar to this artifice, was that practised on the people of Gortyna in Crete, by Hannibal, as recorded by Justin. After the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans, Hannibal retired to Gortyna, carrying with him an immense treasure. This circumstance exciting an invidiousness against him, he pretended to deposit his riches in the temple of Diana, to which place he carried with much ceremony several vessels filled with lead. He soon took an opportunity of passing over into Asia with his real wealth, which he had concealed in the images of the gods he affected to worship.—7.

<sup>64</sup> *Siphnos.*]—This was one of those small islands lying opposite to Attica: They were seventeen in number, and called, from their situation with respect to each other, the Cyclades; they were all eminently beautiful, and severally distinguished by some appropriate excellence. The marble of Paros was of inimitable whiteness, and of the finest grain; Andros and Naxos produced the most exquisite wine; Amengos was famous for a die made from a lichen, growing there in vast abundance. The riches of Siphnos are extolled by many ancient writers; it is now called Siphanto.

The following account of the modern circumstances of Siphnos, is extracted principally from Tournesfort,

It is remarkable for the purity of its air; the water, fruit, and poultry are very excellent. Although covered with marble and granite, it is one of the most fertile islands of the Archipelago.

this time the power of the Siphnians was very considerable, and they were the richest of all the inhabitants of the islands. Their soil produced both the gold and silver metals in such abundance, that from a tenth part of their revenues they had a treasury at Delphi, equal in value to the richest which that temple possessed. Every year they made an equal distribution among themselves, of the value of their mines: whilst their wealth was thus accumulating, they consulted the oracle, to know whether they should long continue in the enjoyment of their present good fortune. From the Pythian they received this answer:

When Siphnos shall a milk-white senate shew,  
And all her market wear a front of snow;  
Him let her prize whose wit suspects the most,  
A scarlet envoy from a wooden host.

At this period the prytaneum, and the forum of Siphnos, were adorned with Parian marble.

LVIII. This reply of the oracle the Siphnians were unable to comprehend, both before and after

lago. They have a famous manufactory of straw hats, which are sold all over the Archipelago, by the name of Siphanto castors: though once so famous for its mines, the inhabitants can now hardly tell you where they were. They have plenty of lead, which the rains discover. The ladies of Siphanto cover their faces with linen bandages so dexterously, that you can only see their mouth, nose, and white of the eyes.—T.



the arrival of the Samians. As soon as the Samians touched at Siphnos, they dispatched a messenger to the town, in one of their vessels. According to the ancient custom, all ships were painted of a red colour; and it was this which induced the Pythian to warn the Siphnians against a wooden snare, and a red ambassador. On their arrival, the Samian ambassadors entreated the inhabitants to lend them ten talents: on being refused, they plundered the country. The Siphnians hearing of this, collected their forces, and were defeated in a regular engagement; a great number were in the retreat cut off from the town, and the Samians afterwards exacted an hundred talents.

LIX. Instead of money the Samians had received of the Hermionians the island of Thyrea, adjacent to the Peloponnese: this they afterwards gave as a pledge to the Træzenians. They afterwards made a voyage to Crete, where they built Cydonia, although their object in going there was to expel the Zacynthians. In this place they continued five years, during which period they were so exceedingly prosperous, that they not only erected all those temples which are now seen in Cydonia, but built also the temple of Dictynna<sup>65</sup>. In the sixth year, from a junction being made with the Cretans by the

<sup>65</sup> *Dictynna.*]—Diana was worshipped in Crete, indifferently under the name of Dyctynna and of Britomartis. *Britu*, in the Cretan language, meant sweet, and *martis*, a virgin. *Britomartis*

the Æginetæ, they were totally vanquished in a sea engagement, and reduced to servitude. The prows of their vessels were taken away and defaced, and afterwards suspended in the temple of Minerva at Ægina. To this conduct towards the Samians the Æginetæ were impelled in resentment of a former injury. When Amphicrates reigned at Samos, he had carried on a war against the Æginetæ, by which they materially suffered; this, however, they severely retaliated.

LX. I have been thus particular in my account of the Samians, because this people produced the greatest monuments<sup>66</sup> of art which are to be seen in Greece. They have a mountain which is one hundred and fifty orgyæ in height; entirely through this they have made a passage, the length of which is seven stadia, it is moreover eight feet high, and

tomartis was the name of a virgin greatly beloved by Diana; and what is said by Diodorus Siculus on the subject seems most worthy of attention. His story is this:—Dictynna was born in Cæron; she invented hunters toils and nets, and thence her name. She was the daughter of Jupiter, which renders it exceedingly improbable that she should be obliged to fly from Minos, and leap into the sea, where she was caught in some fishers nets. The Mons Dictynnæus of Pliny is now called Cape Spada.—T.

<sup>66</sup> *The greatest monuments.*]—Of these monuments some vestiges are still to be seen, consult Tournefort, i. 314. Port Tigani is in form of a half moon, and regards the south-east; its left horn is that famous Jetty which Herodotus reckoned amongst the three wonders of Samos. This work, at that time of day, is an evidence of the Samians application to maritime matters.



as many wide. By the side of this there is also an artificial canal, which in like manner goes quite through the mountain, and though only three feet in breadth, is twenty cubits deep. This, by the means of pipes, conveys to the city the waters of a copious spring<sup>67</sup>. This is their first work, and constructed by Eupalinus, the son of Naustrophus,

<sup>67</sup> *Copious spring.*]—On the left of the dale, near to the aqueduct which crosses it, are certain caverns, the entrance of some of them artificially cut. In all appearance some of these artificial caverns were what Herodotus says were ranked among the most wonderful performances of the Greek nation. The beautiful spring which tempted them to go upon so great a work, is doubtless that of Metelinous, the best in the island, the disposition of the place proving perfectly favourable, the moment they had conquered the difficulty of boring it; but in all probability they were not exact enough in levelling the ground, for they were obliged to dig a canal of twenty cubits deep for carrying the spring to the place designed. There must have been some mistake in this passage of Herodotus.

Some five hundred paces from the sea, and almost the like distance from the river Imbrasis to Cape Cera, are the ruins of the famous temple of the Samian Juno. But for Herodotus we should never have known the name of the architect. He employed a very particular order of columns, as may be now seen. It is indeed neither better nor worse than the Ionian order in its infancy, void of that beauty which it afterwards acquired.

—Thus far Tournefort.

Its ancient names were Parthenias, Anthemus, and Melamphissus. It was the birth-place of Pythagoras, and the school of Epicurus. Pococke says, that there are no remains which he could prevail upon himself to believe to belong to this canal. He adds, that the inhabitants are remarkably profligate and poor. Tournefort makes a similar remark. There are no disciples of Pythagoras, observes the Frenchman, now left in Samos; the modern Samians are no more fond of fasting, than they are lovers of silence.—T.

an inhabitant of Megara. Their second is a mole, which projects from the harbour into the sea, and is two stadia or more in length, and about twenty orgyæ in height. Their last performance was a temple, which exceeds in grandeur all that I have seen. This structure was first commenced by a native of the country, whose name was Rhœcus<sup>68</sup>, son of Phileus.

LXI. Whilst Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus, passed his time in Ægypt, committing various excesses, two magi, who were brothers, and one of whom Cambyfes had left in Persia the manager of his domestic concerns, excited a revolt against him. The death of Smerdis, which had been studiously kept secret, and was known to very few of the Persians, who in general believed that he was alive, was a circumstance to which the last-mentioned of these magi had been privy, and of which he determined to avail himself. His brother, who, as we have related, joined with him in this business, not only resembled

<sup>68</sup> *Rhœcus.*]—This Rhœcus was not only a skilful architect, but he farther invented, in conjunction with Theodorus of Samos, the art of making moulds with clay, long before the Bacchiades had been driven from Corinth; they were also the first who made casts in brass, of which they formed statues. Pausanias relates the same fact, with this addition, that upon a pedestal behind the altar of Diana, called Protothenia, there is a statue by Rhœcus: it is a woman in bronze, said by the Ephesiâns to be that of Night. He had two sons, Telecles and Theodorus, both ingenious statuaryes.—*Larcher.*



in person<sup>69</sup> but had the very name of the young prince, the son of Cyrus, who had been put to death by the order of his brother Cambyfes. Him Patizithes, the other magus, publicly introduced and placed upon the royal throne, having previously instructed him in the part he was to perform. Having done this, he sent messengers to different places, and one in particular to the Ægyptian army, ordering them to obey Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, alone.

LXII. These orders were every where obeyed. The messenger who came to Ægypt found Cambyfes with the army at Ecbatana, in Syria. He entered into the midst of the troops<sup>70</sup>, and executed the

<sup>69</sup> *Resembled in person.*]—Similar historical incidents will here occur to the most common reader, there having been no state whose annals are come down to us, in which, from the similitude of person, factious individuals have not excited commotions. In the Roman government a false Pompey and a false Drusus claim our attention, because one exercised the political sagacity of Cicero, the other employed the pen of Tacitus. Neither have we in our own country been without similar impostors, the examples of which must be too familiar to require insertion here.—T.

<sup>70</sup> *Into the midst of the troops.*]—It may to an English reader at first sight seem extraordinary that any person should dare to execute such a commission as this, and should venture himself on such a business amongst the troops of a man whose power had been so long established, and whose cruelty must have been notorious. But the persons of heralds, as the functions they were to perform were the most important possible, were on all occasions sacred. Homer more than once calls them the sacred ministers of gods and men; they denounced war, and proclaimed peace.

the commission which had been given him. When Cambyfes heard this, he was not aware of any fallacy, but imagined that Prexaspes, whom he had sent to put Smerdis to death, had neglected to obey his commands. "Prexaspes," said the king, "thou hast not fulfilled my orders." "Sir," he replied, "you are certainly deceived; it is impossible that your brother should rebel against you, or occasion you the smallest trouble. I not only executed your orders concerning Smerdis, but I buried him with my own hands. If the dead can rise again, you may expect also a rebellion from Astyages the Mede; but if things go on in their usual course, you can have nothing to apprehend from your brother. I would recommend, therefore, that you send for this herald, and demand by what authority he claims our allegiance to Smerdis."

peace. It has been a matter of dispute amongst the learned from whence this sanctity was conferred on them; they were said to be descended from Cenyx, the son of Mercury, and under the protection of that god. This office, in Athens and Sparta, was hereditary. In Athens, as I have observed, the heralds were said to be derived from Cenyx; in Sparta from Talthybius, the celebrated herald of Agamemnon. They usually carried a staff of laurel in their hands, sometimes of olive, round this two serpents were twisted. To what an extreme this reverence for the persons of ambassadors or heralds was carried, will appear from the book *Polymnia*, chap. 134. It is almost unnecessary to add, that in modern times the persons of ambassadors are in like manner deemed sacred, unless the treatment which in case of war they receive at Constantinople be deemed an exception. The moment that war is declared against any foreign power, the representative of that power is seized, and sent as a prisoner to the Black Tower.—7.



LXIII. This advice was agreeable to Cambyfes: the person of the herald was accordingly seized, and he was thus addressed by Prexaspes: "You say," my friend, "that you come from Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; but I would advise you to be cautious, as your safety will depend upon your speaking the truth; tell me, therefore, did Smerdis himself entrust you with this commission, or did you receive it from some one of his officers?" "I must confess," replied the herald, "that since the departure of Cambyfes on this Ægyptian expedition, I have never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. I received my present commission from the magus to whom Cambyfes entrusted the management of his domestic affairs; he it was who told me that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, commanded me to execute this business." This was the sincere answer of the herald; upon which Cambyfes thus addressed Prexaspes: "I perceive that, like a man of integrity, you performed my commands, and have been guilty of no crime: but what Persian, assuming the name of Smerdis, has revolted against me?" "Sir," answered Prexaspes, "I believe I comprehend the whole of this business: the magi have excited this rebellion against you, namely, Patizithes, to whom you entrusted the management of your household, and Smerdis, his brother."

LXIV. As soon as Cambyfes heard the name of Smerdis, he was impressed with conviction of the truth;

truth; and he immediately perceived the real signification of the dream in which he had seen Smerdis seated on the royal throne, and touching the firmament with his head. Acknowledging that without any just cause he had destroyed his brother, he lamented him with tears. After indulging for a while in the extremest sorrow, which a sense of his misfortunes prompted, he leaped hastily upon his horse, determining to lead his army instantly to Susa against the rebels. In doing this the sheath fell from his sword<sup>71</sup>, which, being thus naked, wounded him in the thigh. The wound was in the very place in which he had before struck Apis, the deity of the Ægyptians. As soon as the blow appeared to be mortal, Cambyfes anxiously enquired the name of the place where he was: they told him it was called Ecbatana. An oracle from Butos had warned him

<sup>71</sup> *The sheath fell from the sword.*]—The first swords were probably made of brass; for, as Lucretius observes,

Et prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus,

It has been remarked, on the following passage of Virgil,

Æratæque micant peltæ, micat æneus ensis,

that the poet only uses brass poetically instead of iron; this, however, seems forced and improbable. More anciently, which indeed appears from Homer, the sword was worn over the shoulder; if, therefore, the attitude of Cambyfes in the act of mounting his horse be considered, his receiving the wound here described does not appear at all unlikely. In contradiction to modern custom, the Romans sometimes wore two swords, one on each side; when they wore but one it was usually, though not always, on the right side. On this subject, see Montfaucon, where different specimens of ancient swords may be seen. The Persian swords were called acinaces, or scymetars.—T,

that



that he should end his life at Ecbatana; this he understood of Ecbatana<sup>72</sup> of the Medes, where all his treasures were deposited, and where he conceived he was in his old age to die. The oracle, however, spoke of the Syrian Ecbatana. When he learned the name of the town, the vexation arising from the rebellion of the magus, and the pain of his wound, restored him to his proper senses. "This," he exclaimed, considering the oracle, "is doubtless the place in which Cambyfes, son of Cyrus, is destined to die."

LXV. On the twentieth day after the above event he convened the more illustrious of the Persians who were with him, and thus addressed them: "What has happened to me, compels me to disclose to you what I anxiously desired to conceal. Whilst I was in Ægypt, I beheld in my sleep a

<sup>72</sup> *Ecbatana.*]—Ctesias makes this prince die at Babylon; but this is not the only place in which he contradicts Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

It appears by the context, that this Ecbatana was in Syria; an obscure place, probably, and unheard of by Cambyfes till this moment. A similar fiction of a prophecy occurs in our own history. Henry the Fourth had been told he was to die in Jerusalem, but died in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster. Which tale Shakespeare has immortalized by noticing it.

It hath been prophesy'd to me many years  
I should not die but in Jerusalem,  
Which vainly I suppos'd the Holy Land.  
But bear me to that chamber, there I'll lie,  
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

Batanæa in Palestine marks the place of this Syrian Ecbatana.—*See d'Anville.*

T.  
"vision,

“ vision, which I could wish had never appeared to  
 “ me. A messenger seemed to arrive from home,  
 “ informing me that Smerdis, sitting on the royal  
 “ throne, touched the heavens with his head. It  
 “ is not in the power of men to counteract destiny;  
 “ but fearing that my brother would deprive me of  
 “ my kingdom, I yielded to passion rather than to  
 “ prudence. Infatuated as I was, I dispatched Prex-  
 “ aspes to Susa, to put Smerdis to death. After  
 “ this great crime, I lived with more confidence,  
 “ believing that Smerdis being dead, no one else  
 “ would rise up against me. But my ideas of the  
 “ future were fallacious; I have murdered my bro-  
 “ ther, a crime equally unnecessary and atrocious,  
 “ and am nevertheless deprived of my power. It  
 “ was Smerdis the magus<sup>73</sup> whom the divinity  
 “ pointed

<sup>73</sup> *Smerdis the magus.*]—Mr. Richardson, in his Dissertation on the Language, &c. of Eastern nations, speaking of the disagreement between the Grecian and Asiatic history of Persia, makes the following remarks.

From this period (610 before Christ) till the Macedonian conquest, we have the history of the Persians as given us by the Greeks, and the history of the Persians as written by themselves. Between these classes of writers we might naturally expect some difference of facts, but we should as naturally look for a few great lines which might mark some similarity of story: yet from every research which I have had an opportunity to make, there seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire. The names and numbers of their kings have no analogy; and in regard to the most splendid facts of the Greek historians, the Persians are entirely silent. We have no mention of the great Cyrus, nor of any king of Persia who

in



“pointed out to me in my dream, and who has  
 “now taken arms against me. Things being  
 “thus circumstanced, it becomes you to remember  
 “that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, is actually dead;  
 “and that the two magi, one with whom I left the  
 “care of my household; and Smerdis his brother, are  
 “the men who now claim your obedience. He  
 “whose office it would have been to have revenged  
 “on these magi any injuries done to me; has un-  
 “worthily perished by those who were nearest to  
 “him: but since he is no more, I must now tell  
 “you, oh Persians! what I would have you do  
 “when I am dead—I intreat you all, by those gods  
 “who watch over kings, and chiefly you who are

in the events of his reign can apparently be forced into a similitude. We have no Cræsus, king of Lydia; not a syllable of Cambyfes, or of his frantic expedition against the Æthiopians. Smerdis Magus, and the succession of Darius, the son of Hytaspes, by the neighing of his horse, are to the Persians circumstances equally unknown, as the numerous assassinations recorded by the Greeks, &c.

To do away, at least in part, any impression to the prejudice of Grecian history; which may be made by perusing the above remarks of Mr. Richardson, the reader is presented with the following sentiments of Mr. Gibbon.

“So little has been preserved of Eastern history before Mahomet, that the modern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation.”

The incident here mentioned is the victory of Sapor over Valerian the Roman emperor, who was defeated, taken prisoner, and died in captivity. This happened in the year 260 of the Christian æra. Mahomet was born in the year 571 of the same æra; if, therefore, Mr. Gibbon’s observation be well founded, which it appears to be, Mr. Richardson’s objections fall to the ground.—T.

“ of

“ of the race of the Achæmenides, that you will  
 “ never permit this empire to revert to the Medes  
 “ If by any stratagem they shall have seized it, by  
 “ stratagem do you recover it. If they have by  
 “ force obtained it, do you by force wrest it from  
 “ them. If you shall obey my advice, may the  
 “ earth give you its fruits in abundance; may you  
 “ ever be free, and your wives and your flocks pro-  
 “ lific! If you do not obey me, if you neither  
 “ recover nor attempt to recover the empire, may  
 “ the reverse of my wishes befall you, and may  
 “ every Persian meet a fate like mine!”

LXVI. Cambyfes having thus spoken, bewailed his misfortunes. When the Persians saw the king thus involved in sorrow, they tore their garments; and expressed their grief aloud. After a very short interval the bone became infected, the whole of the thigh mortified, and death ensued. Thus died Cambyfes, son of Cyrus, after a reign of seven years and five months<sup>74</sup>, leaving no offspring, male or female. The Persians who were present could not be persuaded that the magi had assumed the supreme authority; but rather believed that what Cambyfes had asserted concerning the death of Smerdis was prompted by his hatred of that prince, and his wish to excite the general animosity of the Persians against him. They were; therefore; generally satisfied that it was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, who had assumed

<sup>74</sup> *Seven years and five months.*]—Clemens Alexandrinus makes him reign ten years.—*Larcher.*



the sovereignty. To which they were the more inclined, because Prexaspes afterwards positively denied that he had put Smerdis to death. When Cambyfes was dead he could not safely have confessed that he had killed the son of Cyrus.

LXVII. After the death of Cambyfes, the magus, by the favour of his name, pretending to be Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, reigned in security during the seven months which completed the eighth year of the reign of Cambyfes. In this period he distinguished the various dependents on his power by his great munificence, so that after his death he was seriously regretted by all the inhabitants of Asia, except the Persians. He commenced his reign by publishing every where an edict which exempted his subjects for the space of three years both from tribute and military service.

LXVIII. In the eighth month he was detected in the following manner: Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, was of the first rank of the Persians, both with regard to birth and affluence. This nobleman was the first who suspected that this was not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and was induced to suppose who he really was, from his never quitting the citadel, and from his not inviting any of the nobles to his presence. Suspicious of the imposture, he took these measures:—He had a daughter named Phædyma, who had been married to Cambyfes, and whom, with the other wives of the late king, the usurper had taken to himself. Otanes sent a message to her,

her, to know whether she cohabited with Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or with any other person. She returned for answer, "that she could not tell, as she had never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, nor did she know the person with whom she cohabited." Otanes sent a second time to his daughter: "If," says he, "you do not know the person of Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, enquire of Atossa who it is with whom you and she cohabit, for she must necessarily know her brother." To which she thus replied, "I can neither speak to Atossa, nor indeed see any of the women that live with him. Since this person, whoever he is, came to the throne, the women have all been kept separate<sup>75</sup>."

## LXIX.

<sup>75</sup> *Kept separate.*]—Chardin, speaking of the death of a king of Persia, and the intemperate grief of his wives, says, that the reason why the women upon such occasions are so deeply afflicted, is not only for the loss of the king their husband, but for the loss of that shadow of liberty which they enjoyed during his life; for no sooner is the prince laid in his tomb, but they are all shut up in particular houses. Tournefort tells us, that after the death of the sultan at Constantinople, the women whom he honoured with his embraces, and their eldest daughters, are removed into the old seraglio of Constantinople; the younger are sometimes left for the new emperor, or are married to the bashas.

It appears that in the East from the remotest times females have been jealously secluded from the other sex. Nevertheless, we learn from modern travellers, that this is done with some restrictions, and that they are not only suffered to communicate with each other, but on certain days to leave the haram or seraglio, and take their amusements abroad.

Where a plurality of wives is allowed, each, it should seem from Tournefort, has a distinct and separate apartment. "I was



LXIX. This reply more and more justified the suspicions of Otanes; he sent, therefore, a third time to his daughter: "My daughter," he observed, "it becomes you, who are nobly born, to engage in a dangerous enterprize, when your father commands you. If this Smerdis<sup>76</sup> be not the son of Cyrus, but the man whom I suspect, he ought not, possessing your person, and the sovereignty of Persia, to escape with impunity. Do this, therefore—when next you shall be admitted to his bed, and shall observe that he is asleep, examine whether he has any ears; if he has, you

extremely at a loss," says he, "how to behave to the great men of the East, when I was called in, and visited, as a physician, the apartments of their wives. These apartments are just like the dormitories of our religious, and at every door I found an arm covered with gauze, thrust out through a small loop-hole, made on purpose: at first I fancied they were arms of wood or brass, to serve for sconces to light up candles in at night; but it surprized me when I was told I must cure the persons to whom these arms belonged." The Easterns listen with much astonishment to the familiarity prevailing betwixt the sexes in Europe. When told that no evil results from this, they answer with a proverb, "Bring butter too near the fire, and you will hardly keep it from melting."—T.

<sup>76</sup> *If this Smerdis.*]—That Cambyfes was the Ahasuerus, and Smerdis the Artaxerxes, that obstructed the work of the temple, is plain from hence, that they are said in Scripture to be the kings of Persia that reigned between the time of Cyrus and the time of that Darius by whose decree the temple was finished; but that Darius being Darius Hystaspes, and none reigning between Cyrus and that Darius in Persia, but Cambyfes and Smerdis, it must follow from hence, that none but Cambyfes and Smerdis could be the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, who are said in Ezra to have put a stop to this work.—*Prideaux.*

I. "may

“ may be secure you are with Smerdis, the son of  
 “ Cyrus ; but if he has not, it can be no other than  
 “ Smerdis, one of the magi.” To this Phædyma  
 replied, “ That she would obey him, notwithstanding  
 “ ing the danger she incurred; being well assured,  
 “ that if he had no ears, and should discover her in  
 “ endeavouring to know this, she should be instantly  
 “ put to death.” Cyrus had in his life-time deprived  
 this Smerdis of his ears <sup>77</sup> for some atrocious crime.

Phædyma complied in all respects with the injunctions of her father. The wives of the Persians sleep with their husbands by turns <sup>78</sup>. When this  
 lady

<sup>77</sup> *This Smerdis of his ears.*]—The discovery of this imposture was long celebrated in Persia as an annual festival. By reason of the great slaughter of the magians then made, it was called magophonia. It was also from this time that they first had the name of magians, which signified the cropt-eared, which was then given them on account of this impostor, who was thus cropt. Mige-gush signified, in the language of the country then in use, one that had his ears cropt; and from a ringleader of that sect who was thus cropt, the author of the famous Arabic lexicon called Camus, tells us they had all this name given them; and what Herodotus and Justin, and other authors, write of this Smerdis, plainly shews that he was the man.—*Prideaux.*

<sup>78</sup> *The wives of the Persians sleep with their husbands by turns.*]—By the Mahometan law, the Persians, Turks, and indeed all true believers, are permitted to have wives of three different descriptions; those whom they espouse, those whom they hire, and those whom they purchase. Of the first kind they are limited to four, of the two last they may have as many as they please or can afford. Amongst the singularities sanctified by the Alcoran, the following is not the least: a woman legally espoused may insist on a divorce from her husband, if he is impotent, if he is given to unnatural enjoyment, or, to use Tournefort's ex-



lady next slept with the magus, as soon as she saw him in a profound sleep, she tried to touch his ears, and being perfectly satisfied that he had none, as soon as it was day she communicated the intelligence to her father.

LXX. Otanes instantly revealed the secret to Aspathines and Gobryas, two of the noblest of the Persians, upon whose fidelity he could depend, and who had themselves suspected the imposture. It was agreed that each should disclose the business to the friend in whom he most confided. Otanes therefore chose Intaphernes, Gobryas Megabyzus, and Aspathines, Hydarnes. The conspirators being thus six in number, Darius, son of Hytaspes, arrived at Susa, from Persia, where his father was governor, when they instantly agreed to make him also an associate.

LXXI. These seven met <sup>79</sup>, and after mutual vows of fidelity consulted together. As soon as Darius was to speak, he thus addressed his confederates: “I was of opinion that the death of Smerdis, “son of Cyrus, and the usurpation of the magus, “were circumstances known only to myself; and my “immediate purpose in coming here, was to accom-

plish, if he does not pay his tribute upon Thursday and Friday night, which are the times consecrated to the conjugal duties. —T.

<sup>79</sup> *These seven met.*]—Mithridates, king of Pontus, who afterwards gave so much trouble to the Romans, was descended from one of these conspirators: see book vii. chap. ii.—*Larcher*.

“plish the usurper’s death. But since you are also  
“acquainted with the matter, I think that all delay  
“will be dangerous, and that we should instantly  
“execute our intentions.” “Son of Hystaspes,”  
replied Otanes, “born of a noble parent, you seem  
“the inheritor of your father’s virtue; nevertheless,  
“be not precipitate, but let us enter on this business  
“with caution: for my own part, I am averse to  
“undertake any thing, till we shall have strengthen-  
“ed our party.” “My friends,” resumed Darius,  
“if you follow the advice of Otanes, your ruin is  
“inevitable. The hope of reward will induce some  
“one to betray your designs to the magus. An  
“enterprize like this should be accomplished by  
“yourselves, disdaining all assistance. But since  
“you have diffused the secret, and added me to  
“your party, let us this very day put our designs  
“in execution; for I declare, if this day pass with-  
“out our fulfilling our intentions, no one shall to-  
“morrow betray me; I will myself disclose the con-  
“spiracy to the magus.”

LXXII. When Otanes observed the ardour of Darius; “Since,” he replied, “you will not suffer  
“us to defer, but precipitate us to the termination  
“of our purpose, explain how we shall obtain en-  
“trance into the palace, and attack the usurpers.  
“That there are guards regularly stationed, if you  
“have not seen them yourself, you must have known  
“from others; how shall we elude these?” “There  
“are many circumstances, Otanes,” returned Da-  
rius, “which we cannot so well explain by our



“ words as by our actions. There are others which  
 “ may be made very plausible by words, but are ca-  
 “ pable of no splendour in the execution. You can-  
 “ not suppose that it will be difficult for us to pass  
 “ the guards; who amongst them will not be im-  
 “ pelled by reverence of our persons, or fear of our  
 “ authority, to admit us? Besides this, I am fur-  
 “ nished with an undeniable excuse; I can say that  
 “ I am just arrived from Persia, and have business  
 “ from my father with the king. If a falsehood must  
 “ be spoken<sup>80</sup>, let it be so. They who are sincere,  
 “ and they who are not, have the same object in  
 “ view. Falsehood is prompted by views of interest,

<sup>80</sup> *If a falsehood must be spoken.*]—This morality, says Larcher, is not very rigid; but it ought, he continues, to be remembered, that Herodotus is here speaking of falsehood which operates to no one's injury. Bryant, on the contrary, remarks, that we may rest assured these are the author's own sentiments, though attributed to another person; hence, he adds, we must not wonder if his veracity be sometimes called in question. But when we remember that one of the first rudiments of Persian education was to speak the truth, the little scruple with which Darius here adopts a falsehood, must appear very remarkable. Upon this subject of sincerity, Lord Shaftesbury has some very curious remarks. “The chief of ancient critics,” says he, “extols Homer above all things for understanding how to lye in perfection. His lyes, according to that master's opinion, and the judgment of the gravest and most venerable writers, were in themselves the justest moral truths, and exhibitivè of the best doctrine and instruction in life and manners.” It is well remarked by one of the ancients, though I do not remember which, that a violation of truth implies a contempt of God, and fear of man. Yet the gravest of our moralists and divines have allowed that there may be occasions in which a deviation from strict truth is venial,—T,

“ and

“ and the language of truth is dictated by some promised benefit, or the hope of inspiring confidence. So that, in fact, these are only two different paths to the same end: if no emolument were proposed, the sincere man would be false, and the false man sincere. As to the guards, he who suffers us to pass shall hereafter be remembered to his advantage; he who opposes us shall be deemed an enemy: let us, therefore, now hasten to the palace, and execute our purpose.”

LXXIII. When he had finished, Gobryas spake as follows: “ My friends, to recover the empire will indeed be glorious; but if we fail, it will be nobler to die, than for Persians to live in subjection to a Mede, and he too deprived of his ears. You who were present at the last hours of Cambyfes, cannot but remember the imprecations which he uttered against the Persians if they did not attempt the recovery of the empire. We then refused him attention, thinking him influenced by malignity and resentment; but now I at least second the proposal of Darius, nor would I have this assembly break up, but to proceed instantly against the magus.” The sentiments of Gobryas gave universal satisfaction.

LXXIV. During the interval of this consultation, the two magi had together determined to make a friend of Prexaspes: they were aware that he had been injured by Cambyfes, who had slain his son with an arrow; and that he alone was privy to the



death of Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, having been his executioner; they were conscious also that he was highly esteemed by the Persians. They accordingly sent for him, and made him the most liberal promises; they made him swear that he would on no account disclose the fallacy which they practised on the Persians; and they promised him, in reward of his fidelity, rewards without number. Prexaspes engaged to comply with their wishes; they then told him of their intention to assemble the Persians beneath the tower<sup>81</sup> which was the royal residence, from whence they desired him to declare aloud that he who then sat on the throne of Persia was Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and no other. They were induced to this measure, from a consideration of the great authority of Prexaspes, and because he had frequently declared that he had never put Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, to death, but that he was still alive.

LXXV. Prexaspes agreed to comply with all that they proposed; the magi accordingly assembled the Persians, and leading Prexaspes to the top of the tower, commanded him to make an oration. He, without paying the least attention to the promises he had made, recited the genealogy of the

<sup>81</sup> *Beneath the tower.*]—This was the citadel. Anciently the kings lodged here for security. In chap. lxxviii. Herodotus observes that the magus would not stir from the citadel, and in chap. lxxix. he says that the conspirators left behind in the citadel such of their friends as were wounded in attacking the magi.—*Larcher.*

family of Cyrus, beginning with Achæmenes. When he came to Cyrus himself, he enumerated the services which that prince had rendered the Persians. He then made a full discovery of the truth, excusing himself for concealing it so long, from the danger which the revealing it would have incurred, but that it was now forced from him. He assured them that he actually had killed Smerdis, by the order of Cambyſes, and that the magi now exercised the ſovereign authority. When he had imprecated many curſes <sup>82</sup> upon the Persians, if they  
 - did

<sup>82</sup> *Imprecated many curſes.*]—In ancient times, and amongſt the Orientals in particular, theſe kind of imprecations were very frequent, and ſuppoſed to have an extraordinary influence. The curſe of a father was believed to be particularly fatal; and the furies were always thought to execute the imprecations of parents upon diſobedient children: ſee the ſtories of Œdipus and Theſeus. When Joſhua deſtroyed Jericho, he imprecated a ſevere curſe upon whoever ſhould attempt to rebuild it. This was, however, at a diſtant period of time accompliſhed. We have two examples of ſolemn imprecations on record, which have always been deemed worthy of attention. The one occurred in ancient Rome: When Craſſus, in defiance of the auſpices, prepared to make an expedition againſt the Parthians. The tribune Ateius waited for him at the gates of the city, with an altar, a fire, and a ſacrifice ready prepared, and with the moſt horrid ſolemnity devoted him to deſtruction. The other example is more modern, it is the imprecation which Averroes, the famous Arabian philoſopher, uttered againſt his ſon. As it is leſs generally known, I ſhall recite it at length: Averroes was one day ſeriouſly converſing with ſome grave friends, when his ſon, in a riotous manner, intruded himſelf, accompanied by ſome diſſolute companions. The old man, viewing him with great indignation, ſpoke two verſes to the following effect: “Thy own beauties could not content thee, thou haſt  
 ſtrip



did not attempt the recovery of their rights, and to take vengeance upon the usurpers, he threw himself from the tower.—Such was the end of Prexaspes, a man who through every period of his life merited esteem<sup>83</sup>.

LXXVI. The seven Persians having determined instantly to attack the magi, proceeded, after imploring the aid of the gods, to execute their purpose. They were at first ignorant of what related to the fate of Prexaspes, but they learned it as they went along. They withdrew for a while to deliberate together; they who sided with Otanes, thought that their enterprize should be deferred, at least during the present tumult of affairs. The friends of Darius, on the contrary, were averse to any delay, and were anxious to execute what they had resolved immediately. Whilst they remained in this suspense, they observed seven pair of hawks<sup>84</sup>,  
which,

stript the wild goat of his beauties; and they who are as beautiful as thyself admire thee. Thou hast got his wanton heart, his lecherous eyes, and his senseless head; but to-morrow thou shalt find thy father will have his pushing horns. Cursed be all extravagancies: when I was young I sometimes punished my father, now I am old I cannot punish my son; but I beg of God to deprive him rather of life, than suffer him to be disobedient.” It is related that the young man died within ten months.—T.

<sup>83</sup> *Merited esteem.*]—Upon this incident M. Larcher remarks, that this last noble action of his life but ill corresponds with the mean and dastardly behaviour which Prexaspes had before exhibited to the murderer of his son.

<sup>84</sup> *Seven pair of hawks.*]—The superstition of the ancients, with respect to the sight or flight of birds, has often exercised the

which, pursuing two pair of vultures, beat and severely tore them. At this sight the conspirators came immediately into the designs of Darius; and, relying on the omen of the birds, advanced boldly to the palace.

LXXVII. On their arrival at the gates, it happened as Darius had foreseen. The guards, unsuspecting of what was intended, and awed by their dignity<sup>85</sup> of rank, who, in this instance, seemed to

the sagacity and acuteness of philosophers and scholars. Some birds furnished omens from their chattering, as crows, owls, &c. others from the direction in which they flew, as eagles, vultures, hawks, &c. An eagle seen to the right was fortunate.—See Homer. The sight of an eagle was supposed to foretel to Tarquinius Priscus, that he should obtain the crown; it predicted also, the conquests of Alexander; and the loss of their dominions to Tarquin the Proud, and Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse; innumerable other examples must here occur to the most common reader. A raven seen on the left hand was unfortunate.

*Sæpe sinistra cava prædixit ab ilice cornix.—Virgil.*

Upon the subject of the auspicia, the most satisfactory intelligence is to be obtained from the treatise of Cicero de Divinatione. From the Latin word *auspicia*, from *aves inspicere*, comes our English word *auspicious*.—T.

<sup>85</sup> *Awed by their dignity.*]—The most memorable instance in history, of the effects of this kind of impression, is that of the soldier sent into the prison to kill Caius Marius:—The story is related at length by Plutarch. When the man entered the prison with his sword drawn, “Fellow,” exclaimed the stern Roman, “darest thou kill Caius Marius?” Upon which the soldier dropt his sword, and rushed out of doors. This fact, however, being no where mentioned by Cicero, who speaks very largely on the subject of Marius, has given Dr. Middleton reason to suppose, that the whole is a fabulous narration.—T.



act from a divine impulse, without any questions permitted them to enter. As soon as they came to the interior part of the palace, they met with the eunuchs, who were employed as the royal messengers; these asked their business, and at the same time threatened the guards for suffering them to enter. On their opposing their farther entrance, the conspirators drew their swords, and encouraging each other, put the eunuchs to death; from hence they instantly rushed to the inner apartments.

LXXVIII. Here the two magi happened to be, in consultation about what was to be done in consequence of the conduct of Prexaspes. As soon as they perceived the tumult, and heard the cries of the eunuchs, they ran towards them, and preparing in a manly manner to defend themselves, the one seized a bow and the other a lance. As the conspirators drew near to the attack, the bow became useless; but the other magus, who was armed with the lance, wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and deprived Intaphernes of one of his eyes, though the blow was not fatal. The magus who found his bow of no service retreated to an adjoining apartment, into which he was followed by Darius and Gobryas. This latter seized the magus round the waist<sup>86</sup>, but as this happened in the dark, Darius stood  
in

<sup>86</sup> *Round the waist.*]—Not unlike to this was the manner in which David Rizio, the favourite of the unfortunate Mary queen

in hesitation, fearing to strike, lest he should wound Gobryas. When Gobryas perceived this, he enquired why he was thus inactive : when Darius replied, " that it was from his fear of wounding his friend," " Strike," exclaimed Gobryas, " though you shall pierce both."—Darius instantly complied, and ran his sword through the magus.

LXXIX. Having thus slain the magi<sup>87</sup>, they instantly

queen of Scots, was murdered. Rizio was at supper with his mistress, attended by a few domestics, when the king, who had chosen this place and opportunity to satisfy his vengeance, entered the apartment with Ruthven and his accomplices. The wretched favourite, conceiving himself the victim whose death was required, flew for protection to the queen, whom he seized round the waist. This attitude did not save him from the dagger of Ruthven ; and before he could be dragged to the next apartment, the rage of his enemies put an end to his life, piercing his body with fifty-six wounds.—See the account in *Robertson's History of Scotland*, vol. i. 359.—T.

<sup>87</sup> *The magi.*]—It may not in this place be impertinent, to give a succinct account of the magi or magians, as selected from various writers on the subject. This sect originating in the East, abominating all images, worshipped God only by fire. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles, one of which was the cause of all good, the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light, the other by darkness, and that from these two all things in the world were made. The good god they named Yazdan or Ormund ; the evil god, Ahraman : the former is by the Greeks named Oramasdes, the latter Arimanius. Concerning these two gods, some held both of them to have been from eternity ; others contended the good being only to be eternal, the other created : both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two till the end of the world, when the good god shall overcome the evil



instantly cut off their heads. Their two friends who were wounded were left behind, as well to guard the

evil god; and that afterwards each shall have his world to himself, the good god have all good men with him, the evil god all wicked men. Of this system Zoroaster was the first founder, whom Hyde and Prideaux make cotemporary with Darius Hystaspes, but whose æra, as appears from Moyle, the Greek writers of the age of Darius make many hundred years before their own time. After giving a concise but animated account of the theology of Zoroaster, Mr. Gibbon has this remark: "Every mode of religion, to make a deep and lasting impression on the human mind, must exercise our obedience, by enjoining practices of devotion for which we can assign no reason; and must acquire our esteem by inculcating moral duties, analogous to the dictates of our own hearts." The religion of Zoroaster was abundantly provided with the former, and possessed a sufficient portion of the latter. At the age of puberty the faithful Persian was invested with a mysterious girdle, from which moment the most indifferent action of his life was sanctified by prayers, ejaculations, and genuflexions, the omission of which was a grievous sin. The moral duties, however, were required of the disciple of Zoroaster, who wished to escape the persecution of Arimanius, or as Mr. Gibbon writes it, Ahriman, and to live with Ormund or Ormusd in a blissful eternity, where the degree of felicity will be exactly proportioned to the degree of virtue and piety. In the time of Theodosius the younger, the Christians enjoyed a full toleration in Persia; but Abdas indiscreetly pulling down a temple, in which the Persians worshipped fire, a persecution against the Christians was excited, and prosecuted with unrelenting cruelty. The magi are still known in Persia, under the name of parsi or parses; their superstition is contained in three books, named Zend, Pazend, and Vestna, said by themselves to be composed by Zerdascht, whom they confound with the patriarch Abraham. The Oriental Christians pretend, that the magi who adored Jesus Christ, were disciples of Zoroaster, who predicted to them the coming of the Messiah,

and

the citadel, as on account of their inability to follow them. The remaining five ran out into the public street, having the heads of the magi in their hands, and making violent outcries. They called aloud to the Persians, explaining what had happened, and exposing the heads of the usurpers; at the same time, whoever of the magi appeared was instantly put to death. The Persians hearing what these seven noblemen had effected, and learning the imposture practised on them by the magi, were seized with the desire of imitating their conduct. Sallying forth with drawn swords, they killed every magus whom they met; and if night had not checked their rage, not one would have escaped. The anniversary of this day the Persians celebrate with great solemnity; the festival they observe is called the magophonia, or the slaughter of the magi. On this occasion no magus is permitted to be seen in public, they are obliged to confine themselves at home.

LXXX. When the tumult had subsided, and an interval of five days were elapsed, the conspirators

and the new star which appeared at his birth. Upon this latter subject a modern writer has ingeniously remarked, that the presents which the magi made to Christ, indicated their esteeming him a royal child, notwithstanding his mean situation and appearance: they gave him gold, frankincense, and myrrh, such as the queen of Sheba presented to Solomon in his glory.

It seems almost unnecessary to add, that from these magi or magians the English word *magic* is derived:—See Prideaux, Gibbon, Bayle, Bibliotheque Orientale, and Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture.—T.

met



met to deliberate on the situation of affairs. Their sentiments, as delivered on this occasion, however they may want credit with many of the Greeks, were in fact as follows.—Otares recommended a republican form of government: “It does not,” says he, “seem to me adviseable, that the government of Persia<sup>88</sup> should hereafter be entrusted to any individual person, this being neither popular nor wise. We all know the extreme lengths to which the arrogance of Cambyfes proceeded, and some of us have felt its influence. How can that form of government possibly be good, in which an individual with impunity may indulge his passions, and which is apt to transport even the best of men beyond the bounds of reason? When a man, naturally envious, attains greatness, he instantly becomes insolent: Insolence and jealousy are the distinguishing vices of tyrants, and when combined lead to the most enormous crimes. He who is placed at the summit

<sup>88</sup> *Government of Persia.*]—Machiavel, reasoning upon the conquests of Alexander the Great, and upon the unresisting submission which his successors experienced from the Persians, takes it for granted, that amongst the ancient Persians there was no distinction of nobility. This, however, was by no means the case; and what Mr. Hume remarks of the Florentine secretary was undoubtedly true, that he was far better acquainted with Roman than with Greek authors:—See the Essay of Mr. Hume, where he asserts that “Politics may be reduced to a science;” with his note at the end of the volume, which contains an enumeration of various Persian noblemen of different periods, as well as a refutation of Machiavel’s absurd position above stated.  
—T.

“ of power, ought indeed to be a stranger to envy ;  
 “ but we know, by fatal experience, that the con-  
 “ trary happens. We know also, that the wor-  
 “ thiest citizens excite the jealousy of tyrants, who  
 “ are pleased only with the most abandoned : they  
 “ are ever prompt to listen to the voice of calumny.  
 “ If we pay them temperate respect, they take um-  
 “ brage that we are not more profuse in our atten-  
 “ tions : if the respect with which they are treated  
 “ seem immoderate, they call it adulation. The  
 “ severest misfortune of all is, that they pervert the  
 “ institutions of their country, offer violence to  
 “ our females, and put those whom they dislike to  
 “ death, without the formalities of justice. But a  
 “ democracy in the first place bears the honourable  
 “ name of an equality <sup>89</sup> ; the disorders which pre-  
 “ vail in a monarchy cannot there take place.  
 “ The magistrate is appointed by lot, he is ac-  
 “ countable for his administration, and whatever is  
 “ done, must be with the general consent. I am,

<sup>89</sup> *Equality*.]—The word in the original is *ισονομικη*, which means equality of laws. M. Larcher translates it literally *isonomie* ; but in English, as we have no authority for the use of it, *isonomy* would perhaps seem pedantic. The following passage from lord Shaftsbury fully explains the word in question.—Speaking of the influence of tyranny on the arts, “ The high spirit of tragedy,” says he, “ can ill subsist where the spirit of liberty is wanting.” The genius of this poetry consists in the lively representation of the disorders and misery of the great ; to the end that the people, and those of a lower condition, may be taught the better to content themselves with privacy, enjoy their safer state, and prize the *equality* and justice of their guardian laws.—T.



“ therefore, of opinion, that monarchy should be  
 “ abolished, and that, as every thing depends on  
 “ the people<sup>92</sup>, a popular government should be  
 “ established.”—Such were the sentiments of Otanes.

LXXXI. Megabyzus, however, was inclined to an oligarchy ; in favour of which he thus expressed himself: “ All that Otanes has urged, concerning  
 “ the extirpation of tyranny, meets with my entire  
 “ approbation ; but when he recommends the supreme authority to be entrusted to the people,  
 “ he seems to me to err in the extreme. Tumultuous assemblies of the people are never distinguished by wisdom, always by insolence ; neither can any thing be possibly more preposterous, than to fly from the tyranny of an individual to the intemperate caprice of the vulgar.  
 “ Whatever a tyrant undertakes, has the merit of previous concert and design ; but the people are  
 “ always rash and ignorant. And how can they  
 “ be otherwise, who are uninstructed, and with no

<sup>92</sup> *Every thing depends on the people.*]—In this place the favourite adage of *Vox populi vox Dei*, must occur to every reader; the truth of which, as far as power is concerned, is certainly indisputable; but with respect to political sagacity, the sentiment of Horace may be more securely vindicated :

*Interdum vulgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.*

Which Pope happily renders,

The people's voice is odd ;  
 It is, and it is not, the voice of God. 7.

“ internal

“ internal sense<sup>91</sup> of what is good and right? Def-  
 “ titute of judgment, their actions resemble the vio-  
 “ lence of a torrent<sup>92</sup>. To me, a democracy seems  
 “ to involve the ruin of our country: let us, there-

<sup>91</sup> *No internal sense.*]—The original is somewhat perplexed; but the acute Valcnaer, by reading *οὐκ ἔχειν* for *οὐκ ἔχειν*, at once removes all difficulty.—*T.*

<sup>92</sup> *Their actions resemble the violence of a torrent.*]—Upon the subject of popular assemblies, the following remarks of M. de Lolme seem very ingenious, as well as just.

“ Those who compose a popular assembly are not actuated, in the course of their deliberations, by any clear or precise view of any present or positive personal interest. As they see themselves lost as it were in the crowd of those who are called upon to exercise the same function with themselves; as they know that their individual vote will make no change in the public resolution, and that to whatever side they may incline, the general result will nevertheless be the same, they do not undertake to enquire how far the things proposed to them agree with the whole of the laws already in being, or with the present circumstances of the state. As few among them have previously considered the subjects on which they are called upon to determine; very few carry along with them any opinion or inclination of their own; and to which they are resolved to adhere. As, however, it is necessary at last to come to some resolution, the major part of them are determined, by reasons which they would blush to pay any regard to on much less serious occasions: an unusual sight, a change of the ordinary place of assembly, a sudden disturbance, a rumour, are, amidst the general want of a spirit of decision, the *sufficiens ratio* of the determination of the greatest part; and from this assemblage of separate wills, thus formed, hastily and without reflection, a general will results, which is also without reflection.”—*Constitution of England*, 250, 251.

Quod enim fretum, quem Euripum, tot motus tantas et tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum quantas perturbationes et quantos æstus habet ratio comitiorum.—*Cicero Orat. pro Mæ-  
 ræna.*



“ fore, entrust the government to a few individuals,  
“ als, selected for their talents and their virtues.  
“ Let us constitute a part of these ourselves, and  
“ from the exercise of authority so deposited,  
“ we may be justified in expecting the happiest  
“ events.”

LXXXII. Darius was the third who delivered his opinion. “ The sentiments of Megabyzus,” he observed, “ as they relate to a popular government, are unquestionably wise and just; but  
“ from his opinion of an oligarchy, I totally dissent. Supposing the three different forms of  
“ government, monarchy, democracy, and an oligarchy, severally to prevail in the greatest perfection, I am of opinion that monarchy has greatly the advantage. Indeed nothing can be better than the government of an individual eminent for his virtue. He will not only have regard to the general welfare of his subjects, but  
“ his resolutions will be cautiously concealed from the public enemies of the state. In an oligarchy, the majority who have the care of the state, though employed in the exercise of virtue for the  
“ public good, will be the objects of mutual envy and dislike. Every individual will be anxious  
“ to extend his own personal importance, from which will proceed faction, sedition, and bloodshed. The sovereign power coming by these  
“ means to the hands of a single person, constitutes the strongest argument to prove what form of  
“ government is best. Whenever the people possess  
“ felt

“ fess the supreme authority, disorders in the state  
 “ are unavoidable : such disorders introduced in a  
 “ republic do not separate the bad and the profligate  
 “ from each other, they unite them in the closest  
 “ bonds of connection. They who mutually injure  
 “ the state, mutually support each other ; this  
 “ evil exists till some individual, assuming autho-  
 “ rity, suppresses the sedition ; he of course ob-  
 “ tains popular admiration, which ends in his be-  
 “ coming the sovereign” ; and this again tends to  
 “ prove, that a monarchy is of all governments the  
 “ most excellent. To comprehend all that can be  
 “ said at once, to what are we indebted for our  
 “ liberty ; did we derive it from the people, an  
 “ oligarchy, or an individual ? For my own part,  
 “ as we were certainly indebted to one man for  
 “ freedom, I think that to one alone the govern-  
 “ ment should be intrusted. Neither can we with-  
 “ out danger change the customs of our coun-  
 “ try.”

LXXXIII. Such were the three different opi-  
 nions delivered, the latter of which was approved  
 by four out of the seven<sup>94</sup>. When Otanes saw his  
 desire

<sup>93</sup> *Ends in his becoming the sovereign.*]—It is probable that the  
 ascendant of one man over multitudes began during a state of  
 war, where the superiority of courage and of genius discovers it-  
 self most visibly, where unanimity and concert are most requisite,  
 and where the pernicious effects of disorder are most sensibly  
 felt.—*Hume*.

<sup>94</sup> *Four out of the seven.*]—This majority certainly decided in  
 favour of that species of government which is most simple and



desire to establish an equality in Persia, rejected, he spoke thus : “ As it seems determined that Persia  
 “ shall be governed by one person, whether chosen  
 “ among ourselves by lot, or by the suffrages of the  
 “ people, or by some other method, you shall have  
 “ no opposition from me : I am equally averse to  
 “ govern or obey. I therefore yield, on condition  
 “ that no one of you shall ever reign over me, or  
 “ any of my posterity.” The rest of the conspirators assenting to this, he made no farther opposition, but retired from the assembly. At the present period this is the only family in Persia which retains its liberty, for all that is required of them is not to transgress the laws of their country.

LXXXIV. The remaining six noblemen continued to consult about the most equitable mode of electing a king ; and they severally determined,

natural ; and which would be, if always vested in proper hands, the best : but the abuse of absolute power is so probable, and so destructive, that it is necessary by all means to guard against it. Aristotle inclines to the opinion of those, who esteem a mixed government the best that can be devised. Of this they considered the Lacedæmonian constitution a good specimen ; the kings connecting it with monarchy, the senate with oligarchy, and the ephori and syssytia with democracy.—*Arist. Pol.* l. ii, cap. 4. Modern speculators on this subject, with one accord allow the constitution of Great Britain, as it stands at present, to be a much more judicious and perfect mixture of the three powers, which are so contrived as to check and counterbalance each other, without impeding that action of the whole machine, which is necessary to the well-being of the people. The sixth book of Polybius opens with a dissertation on the different forms of government, which deserves attention.—*T.*

that

that if the choice should fall upon any of themselves, Otanes himself and all his posterity should be annually presented with a Median habit<sup>95</sup>, as well

<sup>95</sup> *Presented with a Median habit.*]—The custom of giving vests or robes in Oriental countries, as a mark of honour and distinction, may be traced to the remotest antiquity, and still prevails. On this subject the following passage is given, from a manuscript of Sir John Chardin, by Mr. Harmer, in his *Observations on Passages of Scripture*.

“The kings of Persia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits, ready designed for presents, and sorted. They pay great attention to the quality or merit of those to whom these vestments or habits are given: those that are given to the great men have as much difference as there is between the degrees of honour they possess in the state.”

All modern travellers to the East speak of the same custom. We find also in the Old Testament various examples of a similar kind. Chardin also, in his account of the coronation of Solyman the Third, king of Persia, has the following passage:

“His majesty, as every grandee had paid him his submissions, honoured him with a calate or royal vest. This Persian word, according to its etymology, signifies entire, perfect, accomplished, to signify either the excellency of the habit, or the dignity of him that wears it; for it is an infallible mark of the particular esteem which the sovereign has for the person to whom he sends it, and that he has free liberty to approach his person; for when the kingdom has changed its lord and master, the grandees who have not received this vest dare not presume to appear before the king without hazard of their lives.”

This Median habit was made of silk; it was indeed, among the elder Greeks, only another name for a silken robe, as we learn from Procopius, *την εοθητα—ήν παλαι μεν Έλληνες Μηδικην εκαλεν, νυν δε Σηρικην ονομαζουσιν*. The remainder of this passage, literally translated, is, “and all that present which in Persia is most honourable.” This gift is fully explained by Xenophon in the



well as with every other distinction magnificent in itself, and deemed honourable in Persia. They decreed him this tribute of respect, as he had first agitated the matter, and called them together. These were their determinations respecting Otanes; as to themselves, they mutually agreed that access to the royal palace should be permitted to each of them, without the ceremony of a previous messenger<sup>96</sup>, except when the king should happen to be in bed with his wife. They also resolved, that the king should marry no woman but from the family of one the conspirators. The mode they adopted to elect a king was this:—They agreed to meet on horseback at sun-rise, in the vicinity of the city, and to make him king whose horse should neigh the first.

LXXXV. Darius had a groom, whose name was Œbares, a man of considerable ingenuity, for whom on his return home he immediately sent, “ Œbares,” said he, “ it is determined that we are to  
“ meet at sun-rise on horseback, and that he among

first book of the Anabasis; it consisted of a horse with a gilt bridle, a golden collar, bracelets, and a sword of the kind peculiar to Media, called *acinaces*, besides the silken vest. His expressions are so similar to those of Herodotus, as to satisfy us that these specific articles properly made up the gift of honour.—T.

<sup>96</sup> *Previous messenger.*]—Visits to the great in Eastern countries are always preceded by messengers, who carry presents, differing in value according to the dignity of the person who is to receive them. Without some present or other no visit must be made, nor favour expected.—T.

“ us shall be king, whose horse shall first neigh.  
 “ Whatever acuteness you have, exert it on this  
 “ occasion, that no one but myself may attain this  
 “ honour.” “ Sir,” replied Œbares, “ if your be-  
 “ ing a king or not depend on what you say, be  
 “ not afraid; I have a kind of charm, which will  
 “ prevent any one’s being preferred to yourself.”  
 “ Whatever,” replied Darius, “ this charm may  
 “ be, it must be applied without delay, as the  
 “ morning will decide the matter.” Œbares,  
 therefore, as soon as evening came, conducted to  
 the place before the city a mare, to which he  
 knew the horse of Darius was particularly inclined:  
 he afterwards brought the horse there, and after  
 carrying him several times round and near the  
 mare, he finally permitted him to cover her.

LXXXVI. The next morning as soon as it was  
 light the six Persians assembled, as had been agreed,  
 on horseback. After riding up and down at the  
 place appointed, they came at length to the spot  
 where the preceding evening the mare had been  
 brought; here the horse of Darius instantly began  
 to neigh, which, though the sky was remarkably  
 clear, was instantly succeeded by thunder and light-  
 ning. The heavens thus seemed to favour, and  
 indeed to act in concert with Darius. Immedi-  
 ately the other noblemen dismounted, and falling at  
 his feet hailed him king<sup>97</sup>.

LXXXVII.

<sup>97</sup> *Hailed him king.*]—Darius was about twenty years old  
 when



LXXXVII. Such, according to some, was the stratagem of Œbares; others, however, relate the matter differently, and both accounts prevail in Persia. These last affirm, that the groom having rubbed his hand against the private parts of the mare, afterwards folded it up in his vest, and that in the morning, as the horses were about to depart, he drew it out from his garment, and touched the nostrils of the horse of Darius, and that this scent instantly made him snort and neigh.

#### LXXXVIII. Darius the son of Hystaspes<sup>25</sup>

when Cyrus died. Cambyfes reigned seven years and five months; Smerdis Magus was only seven months on the throne; thus Darius was about twenty-nine years old when he came to the crown.—*Larcher*.

This circumstance of thunder and lightning from a cloudless sky, is often mentioned by the ancients, and was considered by them as the highest omen. Horace has left an ode upon it, as a circumstance which staggered his Epicurean notions, and impressed him with awe and veneration, l. i. Od. 34; and the commentators give us instances enough of similar accounts. With us there is no thunder without clouds, except such as is too distant to have much effect; it may be otherwise in hot climates, where the state of the air is much more electrical.—*T*.

<sup>25</sup> *Darius the son of Hystaspes*.]—Archbishop Usher holdeth that it was Darius Hystaspes that was the king Ahasuerus, who married Esther; and that Atossa was the Vashti, and Antystone the Esther of the holy scriptures. But Herodotus positively tells us, that Antystone was the daughter of Cyrus, and therefore she could not be Esther: and that Atossa had four sons by Darius, besides daughters, all born to him after he was king; and therefore she could not be that queen Vashti, who was divorced from the king her husband in the third year of his reign, nor he that Ahasuerus that divorced her.—*Prideaux*.

was thus proclaimed king; and, except the Arabians, all the nations of Asia who had been subdued first by Cyrus, and afterwards by Cambyfes, acknowledged his authority. The Arabians were never reduced to the subjection of Persia<sup>99</sup>, but were in its alliance: they afforded Cambyfes the means of penetrating into Ægypt, without which he could never have accomplished his purpose. Darius first of all married two women of Persia, both of them daughters of Cyrus, Atoiffa who had first been married to Cambyfes, and afterwards to

<sup>99</sup> *Never reduced to the subjection of Persia.*]—The independence of the Arabs has always been a theme of praise and admiration, from the remotest ages to the present. Upon this subject the following animated apostrophe from Mr. Gibbon, includes all that need be said. “The arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia. The present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs; the patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The long memory of their independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity; and succeeding generations are animated to prove their descent, and to maintain their inheritance. When they advance to battle, the hope of victory is in the front, and in the rear the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels, who in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before the conqueror: the secret waters of the desert elude his search; and his victorious troops are consumed with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, in the pursuit of an invisible foe, who scorns his efforts, and safely reposes in the heart of the burning solitude.”



the magus, and Antystone a virgin. He then married Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and that daughter of Otanes who had been the instrument in discovering the magus. Being firmly established on the throne, his first work was the erection of an equestrian statue, with this inscription: "Darius, son of Hytaspes, obtained the sovereignty of Persia by the sagacity of his horse, and the ingenuity of Œbares his groom." The name of the horse was also inserted,

LXXXIX. The next act of his authority was to divide Persia into twenty provinces, which they call satrapies, to each of which a governor was appointed. He then ascertained the tribute they were severally to pay, connecting sometimes many nations together, which were near each other, under one district; and sometimes he passed over many which were adjacent, forming one government of various remote and scattered nations. His particular division of the provinces, and the mode fixed for the payment of their annual tribute, was this: They whose payment was to be made in silver, were to take the Babylonian talent<sup>100</sup> for their standard;

<sup>100</sup> *Babylonian talent.*]—What follows on the subject of the talent, is extracted principally from Arbutnot's tables of ancient coins.

The word *talent* in Homer, is used to signify a balance, and in general it was applied either to a weight or a sum of money, differing in value according to the ages and countries in which it was used. Every talent consists of 60 minæ, and every minæ  
of

standard; the Euboic talent was to regulate those who made their payment in gold; the Babylonian talent, it is to be observed, is equal to seventy Euboic minæ. During the reign of Cyrus, and indeed of Cambyſes, there were no ſpecific tributes<sup>101</sup>, but preſents were made to the ſovereign. On account of theſe and ſimilar innovations, the Perſians call Darius a merchant, Cambyſes a deſpot, but Cyrus a parent. Darius ſeemed to have no other object in view but the acquisition of gain; Cambyſes was negligent and ſevere; whiſt Cyrus was of a mild and gentle temper, ever ſtudious of the good of his ſubjects.

#### XC. The Ionians and Magnēſians of Aſia, the

of 100 drachmæ, but the talents differed in weight according to the minæ and drachmæ of which they were compoſed.

What Herodotus here affirms of the Babylonian talent, is confirmed by Pollux and by Ælian.

The Euboic talent was ſo called from the iſland Eubœa; it was generally thought to be the ſame with the Attic talent, becauſe both theſe countries uſed the ſame weights; the mina Euboica, and the mina Attica, each conſiſted of 100 drachmæ.

According to the above, the Babylonian talent would amount, in Engliſh money, to about £. 226; the Euboic or Attic talent to £. 193. 15 s.—*T.*

<sup>101</sup> *No ſpecific tributes.*]—This ſeemingly contradicts what was ſaid above, that the magus exempted the Perſians for three years from every kind of impoſt. It muſt be obſerved that theſe impoſts were not for a conſtancy, they only ſubſiſted in time of war, and were rather a gratuity than an impoſt. Thoſe impoſed by Darius were perpetual; thus Herodotus does not appear at all to contradict himſelf.—*Larcher.*

Æolians,



Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans<sup>102</sup>, and Pamphylians, were comprehended under one district, and jointly paid a tribute of four hundred talents of silver; they formed the first satrapy. The second, which paid five hundred talents, was composed of the Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians<sup>103</sup>. A tribute of three hundred and sixty talents was paid by those who inhabit the right side of the Hellespont, by the Phrygians and Thracians of Asia, by the Paphlagonians, Mariandynians<sup>104</sup>, and Syrians; and these nations constituted the third satrapy. The Cilicians were obliged to produce every day a white horse, that is to say, three hundred and sixty annually, with five hundred talents of silver; of these one hundred and forty were appointed for the payment of the cavalry stationed for the guard of the country; the remaining three

<sup>102</sup> *Melyeans.*]—These people are in all probability the same with the Milyans of whom Herodotus speaks, book i. c. clxxiii. and book vii. c. clxxvii. They were sometimes called Minyans, from Minos, king of Crete.—T.

<sup>103</sup> *Hygennians.*]—For Hygennians Wesseling proposes to read Obigenians.—T.

<sup>104</sup> *Mariandynians.*]—These were on the coast of Bithynia, where was said to be the Acherusian cave, through which Hercules dragged up Cerberus to light, whose foam then produced aconite. Thus Dionysius Periegetes, l. 788.

That sacred plain where erst, as fables tell,  
The deep-voic'd dog of Pluto, struggling hard  
Against the potent grasp of Hercules,  
With foamy drops impregnating the earth,  
Produc'd dire poison to destroy mankind.

hundred

hundred and sixty were received by Darius: these formed the fourth satrapy.

XCI. The tribute levied from the fifth satrapy was three hundred and fifty talents. Under this district was comprehended the tract of country which extended from the city Posideium, built on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria, by Amphilochnus, son of Amphiaras <sup>105</sup>, as far as Ægypt, part of Arabia alone excluded, which paid no tribute. The same satrapy, moreover, included all Phœnicia, the Syrian Palestine, and the isle of Cyprus. Seven hundred talents were exacted from Ægypt, from the Africans which border upon Ægypt, from Cyrene and Barce, which are comprehended in the Ægyptian district. The produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris was not included in this, neither was the corn, to the amount of seven hundred talents more; one hundred and twenty thousand measures of which were applied to the maintenance of the

<sup>105</sup> *Amphilochnus, son of Amphiaras.*]—For an account of Amphiaras, see book the first, chap. xlvi. The name of the mother of Amphilochnus, according to Pausanias, was Eriphyle. He appears to have obtained an esteem and veneration equal to that which was paid to his father. He had an oracle at Mallus, in Cilicia, which place he built; he had also an altar erected to his honour at Athens. His oracle continued in the time of Plutarch, and the mode of consulting it was this:—The person who wished an answer to some enquiry passed a night in the temple, and was sure to have a vision, which was to be considered as the reply. There is an example in Dion Cassius, of a picture which was painted in the time of Commodus, descriptive of an answer communicated by this oracle.—T.



Persians and their auxiliary troops garrisoned within the white castle of Memphis: this was the sixth satrapy. The seventh was composed of the Satagydæ, the Gandarii, the Dadicæ and Aparytæ, who together paid one hundred and seventy talents. The eighth satrapy furnished three hundred talents, and consisted of Susa and the rest of the Cissians.

XCII. Babylon and the other parts of Assyria constituted the ninth satrapy, and paid a thousand talents of silver, with five hundred young eunuchs. The tenth satrapy furnished four hundred and fifty talents, and consisted of Ecbatana, the rest of Media, the Parycanii, and the Orthocorybantes. The Caspians, the Pausicæ, the Pantimathi, and the Daritæ, contributed amongst them two hundred talents, and formed the eleventh satrapy. The twelfth produced three hundred and sixty talents, and was composed of the whole country from the Bactrians to Æglos.

XCIII. From the thirteenth satrapy four hundred talents were levied; this comprehended Pactyicæ, the Armenians, with the contiguous nations, as far as the Euxine. The fourteenth satrapy consisted of the Sangatians, the Sarangæans, the Thamanæans, Utians, and Menci, with those who inhabit the islands of the Red Sea, where the king sends those whom he banishes<sup>106</sup>; these jointly contributed six hundred talents.

<sup>106</sup> *Whom he banishes.*]—Banishment seems to have been adopted

talents. The Sacæ and Caspii formed the fifteenth satrapy, and provided two hundred and fifty talents. Three hundred talents were levied from the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians, who were the sixteenth satrapy.

XCIV. The Paricanii and Æthiopians of Asia paid four hundred talents, and formed the seventeenth satrapy. The eighteenth was taxed at two hundred talents, and was composed of the Matiëni, the Saspîres, and Alarodians. The Moschi,

adopted as a punishment at a very early period of the world; and it may be supposed that, in the infancy of society, men, reluctant to sanguinary measures, would have recourse to the expulsion of mischievous or unworthy members, as the simpler and less odious remedy. When we consider the effect which exile has had upon the minds of the greatest and wisest of mankind, and reflect on that attractive sweetness of the natal soil, which whilst we admire in poetic description we still feel to be *ratione valentior omni*, it seems wonderful that banishment should not more frequently supersede the necessity of sanguinary punishments. That Ovid, whose mind was enervated by licentious habits, should deplore, in strains the most melancholy, the absence of what alone could make life supportable, may not perhaps be thought wonderful; but that Cicero, whose whole life was a life of philosophic discipline, should so entirely lose his firmness, and forget his dignity, may justify our concluding of the punishment of exile, that human vengeance need not inflict a more severe calamity. In opposition to what I have asserted above, some reader will perhaps be inclined to cite the example of Lord Bolingbroke, his conduct, and his reflections upon exile; but I think I can discern through that laboured apology, a secret chagrin and uneasiness, which convinces me at least, that whilst he acted the philosopher and the stoic, he had the common feelings and infirmities of man.—T.



Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynœci, and Mardians, provided three hundred talents, and were the nineteenth satrapy. The Indians, the most numerous nation of whom we have any knowledge, were proportionally taxed; they formed the twentieth satrapy, and furnished six hundred talents in golden ingots.

XCV. If the Babylonian money be reduced to the standard of the Euboic talent, the aggregate sum will be found to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty talents in silver; and, estimating the gold at thirteen times <sup>107</sup> the value of silver, there will be found, according to the Euboic talent, four thousand six hundred and eighty of these talents. The whole being estimated together, it will appear that the annual tribute <sup>108</sup> paid to Darius was fourteen thousand

<sup>107</sup> *Thirteen times the value of silver.*]—The proportion of gold to silver varied at different times, according to the abundance of these two metals. In the time of Darius it was thirteen to one; in the time of Plato, twelve; and in the time of Menander, the comic poet, it was ten.—*Larcher.*

In the time of Julius Cæsar the proportion of gold to silver at Rome was no more than nine to one. This arose from the prodigious quantity of gold which Cæsar had obtained from the plunder of cities and temples. It is generally supposed amongst the learned, that in the gold coin of the ancients one-fiftieth part was alloy.—*T.*

<sup>108</sup> *The annual tribute.*]—The comparison of two passages in Herodotus (book i. chap. cxcii. and book iii. chaps. lxxxix. xcvi.) reveals an important difference between the *gross* and the *net* revenue of Persia, the sums paid by the provinces, and the gold or silver deposited in the royal treasury. The monarch might

thousand five hundred and sixty talents, omitting many trifling sums not deserving our attention.

XCVI: Such was the sum which Asia principally, and Africa in some small proportion, paid to Darius. In process of time the islands also were taxed, as was that part of Europe which extends to Thessaly. The manner in which the king deposited these riches in his treasury, was this:—The gold and silver was melted and poured into earthen vessels; the vessel, when full, was removed, leaving the metal in a mass. When any was wanted, such a piece was broken off as the contingency required.

XCVII: We have thus described the different satrapies, and the impost on each. Persia is the only province which I have not mentioned as tributary. The Persians are not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but they present a regular gratuity. The Æthiopians who border upon Ægypt, subdued by Cambyfes in his expedition against the Æthiopian Macrobian, are similarly circumstanced, as are also the inhabitants of the sacred town of Nyssa, who have festivals in honour of Bacchus. These Æthiopians, with their neighbours, resemble in their customs the Calantian Indians: they have the same rites of sepulture<sup>100</sup>, and their dwellings are

might annually save three millions six hundred thousand pounds of the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people.—*Gibbon.*

<sup>100</sup> *The same rites of sepulture.*]—The word in the text is



are subterraneous. Once in every three years these two nations present to the king two chœnices of gold unrefined, two hundred blocks of ebony, twenty large elephants teeth, and five Æthiopian youths, which custom has been continued to my time. The people of Colchos<sup>110</sup> and their neighbours, as far as mount Caucasus, imposed upon themselves the payment of a gratuity. To this latter place the Persian authority extends; northward of this their name inspires no regard. Every five years the nations above-mentioned present the king with an hundred youths and an hundred virgins<sup>111</sup>, which also has been continued within my remembrance. The Arabians contribute every year frankincense to the

σπερματι, which means grains: to say of two different nations that they use the same grain, seems ridiculous enough. Valcnaer proposes to read σηματι, which seems obvious and satisfactory.  
—T.

<sup>110</sup> *The people of Colchos.*]—It was the boast of the Colchians, that their ancestors had checked the victories of Sesostris, but they sunk without any memorable effort under the arms of Cyrus, followed in distant wars the standard of the great king, and presented him every fifth year with a hundred boys and as many virgins, the fairest produce of the land. Yet he accepted this gift like the gold and ebony of India, the frankincense of the Arabs, and the negroes and ivory of Æthiopia: The Colchians were not subject to the dominion of a satrap, and they continued to enjoy the name as well as substance of national independence.—Gibbon.

<sup>111</sup> *Hundred virgins.*]—The native race of Persians is small and ugly, but it has been improved by the perpetual mixture of Circassian blood. This remark Mr. Gibbon applies to the Persian women in the time of Julian. Amongst modern travellers, the beauty of the Persian ladies is a constant theme of praise and admiration.—T.

amount

amount of a thousand talents.—Independent of the tributes before specified, these were the presents which the king received.

XCVIII. The Indians procure the great number of golden ingots, which, as I have observed, they present as a donative to the king, in this manner:—That part of India which lies towards the east is very sandy; and indeed, of all nations concerning whom we have any authentic accounts, the Indians are the people of Asia who are nearest the east, and the place of the rising sun. The part most eastward, is a perfect desert, from the sand. Under the name of Indians many nations are comprehended, using different languages; of these some attend principally to the care of cattle, others not: some inhabit the marshes, and live on raw fish, which they catch in boats made of reeds, divided at the joint, and every joint<sup>112</sup> makes one canoe. These Indians have a dress made of rushes<sup>113</sup>, which  
having

<sup>112</sup> *Every joint.*]—This assertion seems wonderful; but Pliny, book xvi. chap. 36, treating of reeds, canes, and aquatic shrubs, affirms the same, with this precaution indeed, “if it may be credited.” His expression is this:—*Harundini quidem Indicæ arborea amplitudo, quales vulgo in templis videmus.*—*Spissius mari corpus, fœminæ capacius. Navigiorumque etiam vicem præstant (si credimus) singula internodia.*—*T.*

<sup>113</sup> *Cloaths made of rushes.*]—To trace the modern dress back to the simplicity of the first skins, and leaves, and feathers, that were worn by mankind in the primitive ages, if it were possible, would be almost endless; the fashion has been often changed, while the materials remained the same: the materials have been



hayng mowed and cut, they weave together like a mat, and wear in the manner of a cuirass.

XCIX. To the east of these are other Indians, called Padæi<sup>114</sup>, who lead a pastoral life, live on raw flesh<sup>115</sup>, and

different as they were gradually produced by successive arts, that converted a raw hide into leather, the wool of the sheep into cloth, the web of the worm into silk, and flax and cotton into linen of various kinds. One garment also has been added to another, and ornaments have been multiplied on ornaments, with a variety almost infinite, produced by the caprice of human vanity, or the new necessities to which man rendered himself subject by those many inventions which took place after he ceased to be, as God had created him, upright.—See historical remarks on dress, prefixed to a collection of the dresses of different nations, ancient and modern.

The canoes and dresses here described, will strike the reader as much resembling those seen and described by modern voyagers to the South Seas.—T.

<sup>114</sup> Padæi.]—

Impia nec sævis celebrans convivia mensis  
Ultima vicinus Phœbo tenet arva Padæus.

*Tibull.* l. iv. 144.

<sup>115</sup> On raw flesh.]—Not at all more incredible is the custom said to be prevalent among the Abyssinians, of eating a slice of meat raw from the living ox, and esteeming it one of the greatest delicacies. The assertion of this fact by Mr. Bruce, the celebrated traveller, has excited a clamour against him, and by calling his veracity in question, has probably operated, amongst other causes, to the delay of a publication much and eagerly expected. This very fact, however, is also asserted of the Abyssinians by Lobo and Poncet. If it be allowed without reserve, an argument is deducible from it, to prove that bullock's blood, in contradiction to what is asserted by our historian, in ch. 15. of this book, is not a poison; unless we suppose that the quantity thus taken

and are said to observe these customs :—If any man among them be diseased, his nearest connections put him to death, alledging in excuse that sickness would waste and injure his flesh. They pay no regard to his assertions that he is not really ill, but without the smallest compunction deprive him of life. If a woman be ill, her female connections treat her in the same manner. The more aged among them are regularly killed and eaten ; but to old age there are very few who arrive, for in case of sickness they put every one to death.

C. There are other Indians, who, differing in manners from the above, put no animal to death <sup>116</sup>, sow no grain, have no fixed habitations, and live solely upon vegetables. They have a particular grain, nearly of the size of millet, which the soil spontaneously produces, which is protected by a calyx, the whole of this they bake and eat. If any of these be taken sick, they retire to some solitude, and there remain, no one expressing the least concern about them during their illness, or after their death.

CI. Among all these Indians whom I have specified, the communication between the sexes is like

taken into the stomach would be too small to produce the effect. Lobo, as well as Mr. Bruce, affirms, that the Abyssinians eat beef, not only in a raw state, but reeking from the ox.—T.

<sup>116</sup> Put no animal to death.]—Nicolas Damascenus has preserved the name of this people. He calls them Aritionians.—Larcher.



that of the beasts, open and unrestrained. They are all of the same complexion, and much resembling the Æthiopians. The semen which their males emit is not, like that of other men, white, but black like their bodies <sup>117</sup>, which is also the case with the Æthiopians. These Indians are very remote from Persia towards the south, and were never in subjection to Darius.

CII. There are still other Indians towards the north, who dwell near the city of Caspatyrum, and the country of Paçtyica. Of all the Indians these in their manners most resemble the Bactrians; they are distinguished above the rest by their bravery, and are those who are employed in searching for the gold. In the vicinity of this district there are vast deserts of sand, in which a species of ants <sup>118</sup> is produced,  
not

<sup>117</sup> *Black like their bodies.*]—Semen si probe concoctum fuerit, colore album et splendens esse oportet, ut vel hinc pateat quam parum vere Herodotus scribat semen nigrum Æthiopes promere. *Rodericus a Castro de universa mulierum medicina.*—Aristotle had before said the same thing, in his history of animals.—*Larcher.*

<sup>118</sup> *Species of ants.*]—Of these ants Pliny also makes mention, in the following terms:

“ In the temple of Hercules, at Erythræ, the horns of an Indian ant were to be seen, an astonishing object. In the country of the northern Indians, named Dandæ, these ants cast up gold from holes within the earth. In colour they resemble cats, and are as large as the wolves of Ægypt. This gold, which they throw up in the winter, the Indians contrive to steal in the summer, when the ants, on account of the heat, hide themselves under ground. But if they happen to smell them, the ants rush  
from

not so large as a dog, but bigger than a fox. Some of these, taken by hunting, are preserved in the palace of the Persian monarch. Like the ants common in Greece, which in form also they nearly resemble, they make themselves habitations in the ground, by digging under the sand. The sand thus thrown up is mixed with gold dust, to collect which the Indians are dispatched into the deserts. To this expedition they proceed each with three camels fastened together, a female being secured between two males, and upon her the Indian is mounted, taking particular care to have one which recently has foaled. The females of this description are in all respects as

from their holes, and will often tear them in pieces, though mounted on their swiftest camels, such is the swiftness and fierceness they display from the love of their gold."

Upon the above Larcher has this remark:—The little communication which the Greeks had with the Indians, prevented their investigating the truth with respect to this animal; and their love of the marvellous inclined them to assent to this description of Herodotus. Demetrius Triclinius says, on the *Antigone* of Sophocles, doubtless from some ancient Scholiast which he copies, that there are in India winged animals, named ants, which dig up gold. Herodotus and Pliny say nothing of their having wings. Most of our readers will be induced to consider the description of these ants as fabulous; nevertheless, de Thou, an author of great credit, tells us, that Shah Thomas, sophi of Persia, sent, in the year 1559, to Soliman an ant like these here described.

They who had seen the vast nests of the termites, or white ants, might easily be persuaded that the animals which formed them were as large as foxes. The disproportion between the insect, though large, and its habitation, is very extraordinary.  
—T.

swift



swift as horses, and capable of bearing much greater burdens <sup>119</sup>.

CIII.

<sup>119</sup> *Greater burdens.*]—Of all the descriptions I have met with of this wonderful animal, the following, from Volney, seems the most animated and interesting:—

No creature seems so peculiarly fitted to the climate in which it exists, as the camel. Designing the camel to dwell in a country where he can find little nourishment, nature has been sparing of her materials in the whole of his formation. She has not bestowed upon him the fleshiness of the ox, horse, or elephant, but limiting herself to what is strictly necessary, she has given him a small head without ears, at the end of a long neck without flesh. She has taken from his legs and thighs every muscle not immediately requisite for motion, and in short has bestowed on his withered body only the vessels and tendons necessary to connect its frame together. She has furnished him with a strong jaw, that he may grind the hardest aliments; but, lest he should consume too much, she has straitened his stomach, and obliged him to chew the cud. She has lined his foot with a lump of flesh, which, sliding in the mud, and being no way adapted to climbing, fits him only for a dry, level, and sandy soil, like that of Arabia: she has evidently destined him likewise for slavery, by refusing him every sort of defence against his enemies. So great, in short, is the importance of the camel to the desert, that were it deprived of that useful animal, it must infallibly lose every inhabitant.—*Volney.*

With respect to the burdens which camels are capable of carrying, Russel tells us, that the Arab camel will carry one hundred rotoloes, or five hundred pounds weight; but the Turcomans camel's common load is one hundred and sixty rotoloes, or eight hundred pounds weight. Their ordinary pace is very slow, Volney says, not more than thirty-six hundred yards in an hour; it is needless to press them, they will go no quicker. Raynal says, that the Arabs qualify the camels for expedition by matches, in which the horse runs against him; the camel, less active and nimble, tires out his rival in a long course. There is one peculiarity with respect to camels, which not being generally

CIII. As my countrymen of Greece are well acquainted with the form of the camel, I shall not here describe it; I shall only mention those particulars concerning it with which I conceive them to be less acquainted <sup>120</sup>. Behind, the camel has four thighs, and as many knee joints; the member of generation falls from between the hinder legs, and is turned towards the tail.

CIV. Having thus connected their camels, the Indians proceed in search of the gold, choosing the hottest time of the day as most proper for their purpose, for then it is that the ants conceal themselves under the ground. In distinction from all other nations, the heat with these people is greatest, not

rally known, I give the reader, as translated from the Latin of Father Strobe, a learned German missionary. "The camels which have had the honour to bear presents to Mecca and Medina are not to be treated afterwards as common animals; they are considered as consecrated to Mahomet, which exempts them from all labour and service. They have cottages built for their abodes, where they live at ease, and receive plenty of food, with the most careful attention."—T.

<sup>120</sup> *To be less acquainted.*]—These farther particulars concerning the camel, are taken from Mr. Pennant.

The one-bunched camel, is the Arabian camel, the two-bunched, the Bactrian. The Arabian has six callosities on the legs, will kneel down to be loaded, but rises the moment he finds the burden equal to his strength. They are gentle always, except when in heat, when they are seized with a sort of madness, which makes it unsafe to approach them. The Bactrian camel is larger and more generous than the domesticated race. The Chinese have a swift variety of this, which they call by the expressive name of Fong Kyo Fo, or camels with feet of the wind.



at mid-day, but in the morning. They have a vertical sun till about the time when with us people withdraw from the forum <sup>121</sup>; during which period the warmth is more excessive than the mid-day sun in Greece, so that the inhabitants are then said to go into the water for refreshment. Their mid-day is nearly of the same temperature as in other places; after which the warmth of the air becomes like the morning elsewhere; it then progressively grows

<sup>121</sup> *People withdraw from the forum.*]—The times of the forum were so exactly ascertained, as to serve for a notation of time. The time of full forum is mentioned by many authors, as Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, Lucian, and others, and is said by Suidas to have been the third hour in the morning that is, nine o'clock; and Dio Chrysostom places it as an intermediate point between morning, or sun-rise, and noon, which agrees also with nine o'clock. One passage in Suidas speaks also of the fourth, fifth, and sixth hours; but either they were fora of different kinds, or the author is there mistaken, or the passage is corrupt. See Ælian, xii. 30. and Athenæus, xiv. 1. the time of breaking up the forum, *αγορης διαλυσις*, is not, I believe, mentioned, except here, by Herodotus; but by this passage it appears that it must have been also a stated time, and before noon; probably ten or eleven o'clock. This account of a sun, hotter and more vertical in the morning than at noon, is so perfectly unphilosophical, that it proves decisively, what the hypothesis of our author concerning the overflowing of the Nile gave strong reason to suspect, that Herodotus was perfectly uninformed on subjects of this kind. Mid-day, or noon, can be only, at all places, when the sun is highest and consequently hottest, unless any clouds or periodical winds had been assigned as causes of this singular effect. Whoever fabricated the account he here repeats thought it necessary to give an appearance of novelty even to the celestial phenomena of the place.

Herodotus himself uses the term of *πληθεα αγορης* in book ii. ch. 173, and vii. 223.—T.

milder,

milder, till at the setting sun it becomes very cool.

CV. As soon as they arrive at the spot, the Indians precipitately fill their bags with sand, and return as expeditiously as possible. The Persians say that these ants know and pursue the Indians by their smell, with inconceivable swiftness. They affirm, that if the Indians did not make considerable progress whilst the ants were collecting themselves together, it would be impossible for any of them to escape. For this reason, at different intervals<sup>122</sup>, they separate one of the male camels from the female, which are always fleetier than the males, and are at this time additionally incited by the remembrance of their young whom they had left. Thus, according to the Persians, the Indians obtain their greatest quantity of gold; what they procure by digging is of much inferior importance.

CVI. Thus it appears that the extreme parts of the habitable world are distinguished by the possession of many beautiful things, as Greece is for its agreeable and temperate seasons. India, as I have already remarked, is the last inhabited country

<sup>122</sup> *At different intervals.*]—This passage is somewhat perplexing. The reader must remember that the Indian rode upon the female camel, which was betwixt two males. This being the swiftest, he trusted to it for his own personal security; and it may be supposed that he untied one or both of the male camels, as the enemy approached, or as his fears got the better of his avarice.—T.



towards the east, where every species of birds and of quadrupeds, horses excepted<sup>123</sup>, are much larger than in any other part of the world. Their horses are not so large as the Nisæan horses of Media. They have also a great abundance of gold; which

<sup>123</sup> *Horses excepted.*]—Every thing of moment which is involved in the natural history of the horse, may be found in M. Buffon. But, as Mr. Pennant observes, we may in this country boast a variety which no other single kingdom possesses. Most other countries produce but one kind, while ours, by a judicious mixture of the several species, by the happy difference of our soil, and by our superior skill in management, may triumph over the rest of Europe in having brought each quality of this noble animal to the highest perfection. The same author tells us, that the horse is in some places found wild; that these are less than the domestic kinds, of a mouse colour, have greater heads than the tame, their foreheads remarkably arched, go in great herds, will often surround the horses of the Mongals and Kalkas while they are grazing, and carry them away. These are excessively vigilant: a sentinel placed on an eminence gives notice to the herd of any approaching danger, by neighing aloud, when they all run off with amazing swiftness. These are sometimes taken by the means of hawks, which fix on their heads, and distress them so as to give the pursuers time to overtake them. In the interior parts of Ceylon is a small variety of the horse, not exceeding thirty inches in height, which is sometimes brought to Europe as a rarity. It may not, in this place, be impertinent to inform the reader, that in the East the riding on a horse is deemed very honourable, since Europeans are very seldom permitted to do it. In the book of Ecclesiastes, chap. x. ver. 7. we meet with this expression, “I have seen servants on horses,” which we may of course understand to be spoken of a thing very unusual and improper.

To conclude this subject, I have only to observe, that the Arabian horses are justly allowed to be the finest in the world in point of beauty and of swiftness, and are sent into all parts to improve the breed of this animal.—T.

they procure partly by digging, partly from the rivers, but principally by the method above described. They possess likewise a kind of plant, which, instead of fruit, produces wool <sup>124</sup>, of a finer and better quality than that of sheep: of this the natives make their cloaths.

CVII. The last inhabited country towards the south, is Arabia, the only region of the earth which produces frankincense <sup>125</sup>, myrrh, cinnamon <sup>126</sup>,

<sup>124</sup> *Produces wool.*]—This was doubtless the cotton shrub, called by the ancients byssus. This plant grows to the height of about four feet: it has a yellow flower, streaked with red, not unlike that of the mallow; the pistil becomes a pod of the size of a small egg; in this are from three to four cells, each of which, on bursting, is found to contain seeds involved in a whitish substance, which is the cotton. The time of gathering the cotton is when the fruit bursts, which happens in the months of March and April. The scientific name of this plant is *gossypium*.—T.

<sup>125</sup> *Frankincense.*]—This, of all perfumes, was the most esteemed by the ancients; it was used in divine worship, and was in a manner appropriated to princes and great men. Those employed in preparing it were naked, they had only a girdle about their loins, which their master had the precaution to secure with his own seal.—T.

<sup>126</sup> *Cinnamon*]—is a species of laurel, the bark of which constitutes its valuable part. This is taken off in the months of September and February. When cut into small slices, it is exposed to the sun, the heat of which curls it up in the form in which we receive and use it. The berry, when boiled in water, yields, according to Raynal, an oil, which, suffered to congeal, acquires a whiteness. Of this candles are made, of a very aromatic smell, which are reserved for the sole use of the king of Ceylon, in which place it is principally found.—T.

casia,



casia <sup>127</sup>, and ledanum <sup>128</sup>. Except the myrrh, the Arabians obtain all these aromatics without any considerable trouble. To collect the frankincense, they burn under the tree which produces it a quantity of the styrax <sup>129</sup>, which the Phœnicians export into Greece; for these trees are each of them guarded by a prodigious number of flying serpents, small of body, and of different colours, which are dispersed by the smoke of the gum. It is this species of serpent which in an immense body infests Ægypt.

CVIII. The Arabians, moreover, affirm, that their whole country would be filled with these serpents, if the same thing were not to happen with respect to them which we know happens, and, as it should seem, providentially, to the vipers. Those animals, which are more timid, and which serve for the purpose of food, to prevent their total consumption are always remarkably proli-

<sup>127</sup> *Casia*.]—This is, I believe, a bastard kind of cinnamon, called in Europe cassia lignea; the merchants mix it with true cinnamon, which is four times its value; it is to be distinguished by a kind of visciditv perceived in chewing it.—T.

<sup>128</sup> *Ledanum*.]—Ledanum, or ladanum, according to Pliny, was a gum made of the dew which was gathered from a shrub called lada.—T.

<sup>129</sup> *Styrax*.]—This is the gum of the storax tree, is very aromatic, and brought to this country in considerable quantities from the Archipelago. It is obtained by making incisions in the tree. The Turks adulterate it with saw-dust. Another species of storax is imported to Europe from America, and is procured from the liquid amber-tree.—T.

fic <sup>130</sup>, which is not the case with those which are fierce and venomous. The hare, for instance, the prey of every beast and bird, as well as of man, produces young abundantly. It is the singular property of this animal <sup>131</sup>, that it conceives a second time, when it is already pregnant, and at the same time carries in its womb young ones covered with down, others not yet formed, others just beginning to be formed, whilst the mother herself is again ready to conceive. But the lioness, of all animals the strongest and most ferocious, produces but one young one <sup>132</sup> in her life, for at the birth of her cub she loses her matrix. The reason of this seems to be, that as the claws of the lion are sharper by much than those of any other animal, the cub, as soon as it begins to stir in the womb, injures and tears the matrix, which it does still more and more

<sup>130</sup> Remarkably prolific.]—See Derham's chapter on the balance of animals, *Physico-Theology*, b. iv. ch. x. and ch. xiv. §. 3.

<sup>131</sup> The singular property of this animal.]—With respect to the superfœtation of this animal, Pliny makes the same remark, assigning the same reason. *Lepus omnium prædæ nascens, solus præter Dasypodem superfœtat, aliud educans, aliud in utero pilis vestitum, aliud implume, aliud inchoatum gerens pariter.* This doctrine of superfœtation is strenuously defended by Sir T. Brown, in his *Vulgar Errors*; and, as far as it respects the animal in question, is credited by Larcher: but Mr. Pennant very sensibly remarks, that as the hare breeds very frequently in the course of the year, there is no necessity of having recourse to this doctrine to account for their numbers.—T.

<sup>132</sup> But one young one.]—This assertion is perfectly absurd and false. The lioness has from two to six young ones, and the same lioness has been known to litter four or five times.—T.



as it grows bigger, so that at the time of its birth no part of the womb remains whole.

CIX. Thus, therefore, if vipers and those winged serpents of Arabia were to generate in the ordinary course of nature, the natives could not live. But it happens, that when they are incited by lust to copulate, at the very instant of emission the female seizes the male by the neck, and does not quit her hold till she has quite devoured it<sup>33</sup>. The male thus perishes, but the female is also punished; for whilst the young are still within the womb, as the time of birth approaches, to make themselves a passage they tear in pieces the matrix, thus avenging their father's death. Those serpents which are not injurious to mankind lay eggs, and produce a great quantity of young. There are vipers in every part of the world, but winged serpents are found only in Arabia, where there are great numbers.

CX. We have described how the Arabians procure their frankincense; their mode of obtaining the cassia is this:—The whole of their body, and the face, except the eyes, they cover with skins of different kinds; they thus proceed to the place where it grows, which is in a marsh not very deep, but infested by a winged species of animal much resembling a bat, very strong, and making a hideous noise; they protect their eyes from these, and then gather the cassia.

<sup>33</sup> *Quite devoured it.*]—This narrative must also be considered as entirely fabulous.—T.

CXI. Their manner of collecting the cinnamon<sup>134</sup> is still more extraordinary. In what particular spot it is produced, they themselves are unable to certify. There are some who assert that it grows in the region where Bacchus was educated, and their mode of reasoning is by no means improbable. These affirm that the vegetable substance, which we, as instructed by the Phœnicians<sup>135</sup>, call cinnamon,

<sup>134</sup> *Cinnamon.*]—The substance of Larcher's very long and learned note on this subject, may, if I mistake not, be comprised in very few words: by cinnamomum the ancients understood a branch of that tree, bark and all, of which the cassia was the bark only. The cutting of these branches is now prohibited, because found destructive of the tree. I have before observed, that of cinnamon there are different kinds; the cassia of Herodotus was, doubtless, what we in general understand to be cinnamon, of which our cassia, or cassia lignea, is an inferior kind.—T.

<sup>135</sup> *As instructed by the Phœnicians.*]—I cannot resist the pleasure of giving at full length the note of Larcher on this passage, which detects and explains two of the most singular and unaccountable errors ever committed in literature.

“The above is the true sense of the passage, which Pliny has mistaken. He makes Herodotus say that the cinnamon and cassia are found in the nests of certain birds, and *in particular of the phœnix*. Cinna<sup>m</sup>omum et cassias, fabulose narravit antiquitas, princepsve Herodotus, avium nidis et privatim phœnicis, in quo situ Liber Pater educatus esset, ex inviis rupibus arboribusque decuti. The above passage from Pliny, Dupin has translated, most ridiculously, ‘l’antiquité fabuleuse, et le prince des menteurs, Herodote, disent,’ &c. He should have said Herodotus first of all, for princeps, in this place, does not mean prince, and menteur cannot possibly be implied from the text of Pliny. Pliny had reason to consider the circumstance as fabulous, but he ought not to have imputed it to our historian, who



mon, is by certain large birds carried to their nests constructed of clay, and placed in the cavities of inaccessible rocks. To procure it thence the Arabians have contrived this stratagem:—they cut in very large pieces the dead bodies of oxen, asses, or other beasts of burden, and carry them near these nests: they then retire to some distance; the birds soon fly to the spot, and carry these pieces of flesh to their nests, which not being able to support the weight, fall in pieces to the ground. The Arabians take this opportunity of gathering the cinnamon, which they afterwards dispose of to different countries.

CXII. The ledanum<sup>116</sup>, or, as the natives term it,

says no such thing. But the authority of Pliny has imposed not only on Statius,

Pharæque exempta volucris  
Cinnama,

where *Pharia volucris* means the phoenix; and on Avienus,

Internis etiam procul undique ab oris  
Ales amica deo largum congeffit amomum;

but also on Van Stapel, in his Commentaries on Theophrastus. Pliny had, doubtless, read too hastily this passage of Herodotus, which is sufficiently clear. Suidas and the Etymologicum Magnum, are right in the word *κινναμωμον*.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>116</sup> *Ledanum*.]—The following further particulars concerning this aromatic are taken from Tournefort.

It is gathered by the means of whips, which have long handles, and two rows of straps; with these they brush the plants, and to these will stick the odoriferous glue which hangs on the leaves; when the whips are sufficiently laden with this glue, they take a knife and scrape it clean off the straps.

it, ladanum, is gathered in a more remarkable manner than even the cinnamon. In itself it is particularly fragrant, though gathered from a place as much the contrary. It is found sticking to the beards of he-goats, like the mucus of trees. It is mixed by the Arabians in various aromatics, and indeed it is with this that they perfume themselves in common.

CXIII. I have thought it proper to be thus minute on the subject of the Arabian perfumes; and we may add, that the whole of Arabia exhales a most delicious fragrance. There are also in this country two species of sheep, well deserving admiration, and to be found no where else. One of them is remarkable for an enormous length of tail<sup>137</sup>, extending to three cubits, if not more.

In the time of Dioscorides, and before, they used to gather the ledanum not only with whips, but they also were careful in combing off such of it as was found sticking to the beards and thighs of the goats, which fed upon nothing but the leaves of the cistus.

The ledum is a species of cistus.

<sup>137</sup> *Enormous length of tail.*]—The following description of the broad-tailed sheep, from Pennant, takes away from the seeming improbability of this account.

“This species,” says Mr. Pennant, “is common in Syria, Barbary, and Æthiopia. Some of their tails end in a point, but are oftener square or round. They are so long as to trail on the ground, and the shepherds are obliged to put boards with small wheels under the tails, to keep them from galling. These tails are esteemed a great delicacy, are of a substance between fat and marrow, and are eaten with the lean of the mutton. Some of these tails weigh 50 lb. each.”



If they were permitted to trail them along the ground, they would certainly ulcerate from the friction. But the shepherds of the country are skilful enough to make little carriages, upon which they secure the tails of the sheep : the tails of the other species are of the size of one cubit,

CXIV. *Æthiopia*, which is the extremity of the habitable world, is contiguous to this country on the south-west. This produces gold in great quantities, elephants with their prodigious teeth, trees and shrubs of every kind, as well as ebony ; its inhabitants are also remarkable for their size, their beauty, and their length of life.

CXV. The above are the two extremes of Asia and Africa. Of that part of Europe nearest to the west, I am not able to speak with decision. I by no means believe that the Barbarians give the name of *Eridanus*<sup>138</sup> to a river which empties itself into the Northern Sea, whence, as it is said, our amber comes. Neither am I better ac-

<sup>138</sup> *Eridanus*.]—Bellanger was of opinion, that Herodotus intended here to speak of the *Eridanus*, a river in Italy ; Pliny thought so too, and expresses his surprize that Herodotus should be unable to meet with a person who had seen this river, although part of his life was spent at Thuria, in *Magna Græcia*.

But this very reflection ought to have convinced both Pliny and Bellanger, that Herodotus had another *Eridanus* in view.

The *Eridanus* here alluded to, could not possibly be any other than the *Rho-daune*, which empties itself into the *Vistula*, near *Dantzic*, and on the banks of which amber is now found in large quantities.—*Larcher*.

quainted with the islands called the Cassiterides <sup>139</sup>, from which we are said to have our tin. The name Eridanus is certainly not barbarous, it is of

<sup>139</sup> *Cassiterides*.]—Pliny says these islands were thus called from their yielding abundance of lead; Strabo says, that they were known only to the Phœnicians; Larcher is of opinion that Great Britain was in the number of these.

The Phœnicians, who were exceedingly jealous of their commerce, studiously concealed the situation of the Cassiterides, as long as they were able; which fully accounts for the ignorance so honestly avowed by Herodotus. Camden and d'Anville agree in considering the Scilly Isles as undoubtedly the Cassiterides of the ancients. Strabo makes them ten in number, lying to the north of Spain; and the principal of the Scilly isles are ten, the rest being very inconsiderable. Dionysius Periegetes expressly distinguishes them from the British isles;

Νεσθς θ' Εσπεριδας τοθι κασσιτεροιο γενεθλη—

\* \* \* \* \*

Αλλαι δ' ωκεανοιο παραι Βρεωτιδας αηλας

Δισσαι ηησοι εασι Βρετανιδες.—v. 563.

Yet it is not an improbable conjecture of his commentator Hill, that the promontory of Cornwall might perhaps at first be considered as another island. Diodorus Siculus describes the carrying of tin from the Cassiterides, and from Britain, to the northern coast of France, and thence on horses to Marseilles, thirty days journey; this must be a new trade established by the Romans, who employed great perseverance to learn the secret from the Phœnicians. Strabo tells us of one Phœnician captain, who finding himself followed by a Roman vessel, purposely steered into the shallows, and thus destroyed both his own ship and the other; his life, however, was saved, and he was rewarded by his countrymen for his patriotic resolution.

Eustathius, in his comment on Dionysius, reckons also ten Cassiterides; but his account affords no new proof, as it is manifestly copied from Strabo, to the text of which author it affords a remarkable correction.—T.



Greek derivation, and, as I should conceive, introduced by one of our poets. I have endeavoured, but without success, to meet with some one who from ocular observation might describe to me the sea which lies in that part of Europe. It is nevertheless certain, that both our tin and our amber <sup>140</sup> are brought from those extreme regions.

CXVI. It is certain that in the north of Europe there is a prodigious quantity of gold; but how it is produced I am not able to tell with certainty. It is affirmed indeed, that the Arimaspi, a people who have but one eye, take this gold away violently from the griffins; but I can never persuade myself that there are any men who, having but one eye, enjoy in all other respects the nature and qualities of other human beings. Thus much seems unquestionable, that these extreme parts of the world contain within themselves things the most beautiful as well as rare.

CXVII. There is in Asia a large plain, sur-

<sup>140</sup> *Amber.*]—Amber takes its name from *ambra*, the Arabian name for this substance; the science of electricity is so called from *electrum*, the Greek word for amber. This term of electricity is now applied not only to the power of attracting lighter bodies, which amber possesses, but to many other powers of a similar nature. Amber is certainly not of the use, and consequently not of the value, which it has been, but it is still given in medicine, and is, as I am informed, the basis of all varnishes. It is found in various places, but Prussia is said to produce the most and the best.—T.

rounded

rounded on every part by a ridge of hills, through which there are five different apertures. It formerly belonged to the Chorasmians, who inhabit those hills in common with the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangensians, and Thomaneans; but after the subjection of these nations to Persia, it became the property of the great king. From these surrounding hills there issues a large river called Aces: this formerly, being conducted through the openings of the mountain, watered the several countries above mentioned. But when these regions came under the power of the Persians, the apertures were closed, and gates placed at each of them, to prevent the passage of the river. Thus on the inner side, from the waters having no issue, this plain became a sea, and the neighbouring nations, deprived of their accustomed resource, were reduced to the extremest distress from the want of water. In winter they, in common with other nations, had the benefit of the rains, but in summer, after sowing their millet and sesamum, they required water but in vain. Not being assisted in their distress, the inhabitants of both sexes hastened to Persia, and presenting themselves before the palace of the king, made loud complaints. In consequence of this, the monarch directed the gates to be opened towards those parts where water was most immediately wanted; ordering them again to be closed after the lands had been sufficiently refreshed: the same was done with respect to them all, beginning where moisture was wanted the most. I have, however, been informed, that this is only granted in  
consideration



consideration of a large donative above the usual tribute.

CXVIII. Intaphernes, one of the seven who had conspired against the magus, lost his life from the following act of insolence. Soon after the death of the usurpers, he went to the palace, with the view of having a conference with the king; for the conspirators had mutually agreed, that, except the king should happen to be in bed with his wife, they might any of them have access to the royal presence, without sending a previous messenger. Intaphernes, not thinking any introduction necessary, was about to enter, but the porter and the introducing officer prevented him, pretending that the king was retired with one of his wives. He, not believing their assertion, drew his sword, and cut off their ears and noses; then taking the bridle from his horse, he tied them together, and so dismissed them.

CXIX. In this condition they presented themselves before the king, telling him why they had been thus treated. Darius, thinking that this might have been done with the consent of the other conspirators, sent for them separately, and desired to know whether they approved of what had happened. As soon as he was convinced that Intaphernes had perpetrated this without any communication with the rest, he ordered him, his son, and all his family, to be taken into custody; having many reasons to suspect, that in concert with his friends he might

might excite a sedition : he afterwards commanded them all to be bound, and prepared for execution, The wife of Intaphernes then presented herself before the royal palace, exhibiting every demonstration of grief. As she regularly continued this conduct, her frequent appearance at length excited the compassion of Darius ; who thus addressed her by a messenger : “ Woman, king Darius offers you the  
 “ liberty of any individual of your family, whom you  
 “ may most desire to preserve.” After some deliberation with herself, she made this reply : “ If the  
 “ king will grant me the life of any one of my fami-  
 “ ly, I choose my brother in preference to the rest.” Her determination greatly astonished the king ; he sent to her therefore a second message to this effect : “ The king desires to know why you have  
 “ thought proper to pass over your children and  
 “ your husband, and to preserve your brother ; who  
 “ is certainly a more remote connection than your  
 “ children, and cannot be so dear to you as your  
 “ husband ?” She answered thus : “ Oh king ! if  
 “ it please the deity, I may have another husband ;  
 “ and if I be deprived of these, may have other  
 “ children ; but as my parents are both of them  
 “ dead, it is certain that I can have no other bro-  
 “ ther <sup>141</sup>.” The answer appeared to Darius very  
 judicious ;

<sup>141</sup> *I can have no other brother.*]—This very singular, and I do not scruple to add preposterous sentiment, is imitated very minutely by Sophocles, in the *Antigone*. That the reader may the better understand, by comparing the different application of these words, in the historian and the poet, I shall subjoin a part of the argument of the *Antigone*.



judicious; indeed he was so well pleased with it, that he not only gave the woman the life of her brother, but also pardoned her eldest son: the rest were all of them put to death. Thus, at no great

Eteocles and Polynices were the sons of Œdipus, and successors of his power; they had agreed to reign year by year alternately; but Eteocles breaking the contract, the brothers determined to decide the dispute in a single combat: they fought and mutually slew each other. The first act of their uncle Creon, who succeeded to the throne, was to forbid the rites of sepulture to Polynices, denouncing immediate death upon whoever should dare to bury him. Antigone transgressed this ordinance, and was detected in the fact of burying her brother; she was commanded to be interred alive, and what follows is part of what is suggested by her situation and danger.

And thus, my Polynices, for my care  
Of thee, am I rewarded, and the good  
Alone shall praise me: for a husband dead,  
Nor, had I been a mother, for my children  
Would I have dar'd to violate the laws.—  
Another husband and another child  
Might sooth affliction; but, my parents dead,  
A brother's loss could never be repair'd,

*Franklin's Sophocles.*

The reader will not forget to observe, that the piety of Antigone is directed to a lifeless corpse, but that of the wife of Intaphernes to her living brother, which is surely less repugnant to reason, and the common feelings of the human heart, not to speak of the superior claims of duty.

There is an incident similar to this in Lucian:—See the tract called *Toxaris*, or *Amicitia*, where a Scythian is described to neglect his wife and children, whilst he incurs the greatest danger to preserve his friend from the flames. “Other children,” says he, “I may easily have, and they are at best but a precarious blessing, but such a friend I could no where obtain.”  
—T.

interval

interval of time, perished one of the seven conspirators.

CXX. About the time of the last illness of Cambyfes, the following accident happened. The governor of Sardis was a Persian, named Oroëtes, who had been promoted by Cyrus. This man conceived the atrocious design of accomplishing the death of Polycrates of Samos, by whom he had never in word or deed been injured, and whose person he never had beheld. His assigned motive was commonly reported to be this: Oroëtes one day sitting at the gates of the palace<sup>142</sup> with another Persian, whose name was Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium, entered into a conversation with him, which at length terminated in dispute. The subject about which they contended was military virtue: "Can you," says Mitrobates to Oroëtes, "have any pretensions to valour, who have never added Samos to the dominions of your master, contiguous as it

<sup>142</sup> *At the gates of the palace.*]—In the Greek it is at the king's gate. The grandees waited at the gate of the Persian kings:—This custom, established by Cyrus, continued as long as the monarchy, and at this day, in Turkey, we say the Ottoman port, for the Ottoman court.—*Larcher.*

Ignorance of this custom has caused several mistakes, particularly in the history of Mordecai, in the book of Esther, who is by many authors, and even by Prideaux, represented as meanly situated when placed there. Many traces of this custom may be found in Xenophon's Cyropædia. Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, uses the expression of *those at the king's gate*, τῶν ἐπὶ θυραῖς βασιλέως, as a general designation for nobles and state officers.—See *Briffon, de Regno Persarum*, lib. i.—*T.*

" is



“ is to your province ; and which indeed may so  
 “ easily be taken, that one of its own citizens made  
 “ himself master of it, with the help of fifteen men  
 “ in arms, and still retains the supreme authority ?”  
 This made a deep impression upon the mind of  
 Oroetes ; but without meditating revenge against the  
 person who had affronted him, he determined to ef-  
 fect the death of Polycrates, on whose account he  
 had been reproached.

CXXI. There are some, but not many, who affirm  
 that Oroetes sent a messenger to Samos, to propose  
 some question to Polycrates, but of what nature is  
 unknown ; and that he found Polycrates in the men’s  
 apartment, reclining on a couch, with Anacreon of  
 Teos <sup>143</sup> by his side. The man advanced to deliver  
 his

<sup>143</sup> *Anacreon of Teos.*]—It is by no means astonishing to find,  
 in the court of a tyrant, a poet who is eternally singing in praise  
 of wine and love ; his verses are full of the encomiums of Poly-  
 crates. How different was the conduct of Pythagoras ! That  
 philosopher, perceiving that tyranny was established in Samos,  
 went to Ægypt, and from thence to Babylon, for the sake of  
 improvement : returning to his country, he found that tyranny  
 still subsisted ; he went therefore to Italy, and there finished his  
 days.—*Larcher.*

This poet was not only beloved by Polycrates, he was the fa-  
 vourite also of Hipparchus the Athenian tyrant. And, notwith-  
 standing the inference which Larcher seems inclined to draw,  
 from contrasting his conduct with that of Pythagoras, he was  
 called σοφος by Socrates himself ; and the terms νηφες καὶ αγαθος  
 are applied to him by Athenæus. By the way, much as has been  
 said on the compositions of Anacreon by H. Stevens, Scaliger,  
 M. Dacier, and others, many of the learned are in doubt whe-  
 ther

his message; but Polycrates, either by accident, or to demonstrate the contempt <sup>144</sup> in which he held Orætes, continued all the time he was speaking with his face towards to the wall, and did not vouchsafe any reply.

CXXII. These are the two assigned motives for the destruction of Polycrates: every one will prefer that which seems most probable. Orætes, who lived at Magnesia, which is on the banks of the Mæander <sup>145</sup>, sent Myrsus the Lydian, son of Gyges, with a message to Polycrates at Samos. With the character of Polycrates Orætes was well acquainted; for, except Minos <sup>146</sup> the Cnossian, or whoever before him accomplished it, he was the first Greek

ther the works ascribed to him by the moderns are genuine. Anacreontic verse is so called, from its being much used by Anacreon; it consists of three Iambic feet and a half, of which there is no instance in the Lyrics of Horace.—See the Prolegomena to *Barnes's Anacreon*, §. 12.

<sup>144</sup> *Demonstrate the contempt.*]—This behaviour of Polycrates, which was doubtless intended to be expressive of contempt, brings to mind the story of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, who at an interview with the Grand Vizier, expressed his contempt and indignation by tearing the minister's robe with his spur, and afterwards leaving the apartment without saying a word.

<sup>145</sup> *On the banks of the Mæander.*]—This is added in order to distinguish that city from the Magnesia on the Sipylus, lying between Sardes and Phocæa.

<sup>146</sup> *Except Minos.*]—What Herodotus says of the maritime power of Minos, is confirmed by Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus. His testimony concerning Polycrates is supported also by Thucydides and Strabo.—*Larcher*.

who



who formed the design of making himself master of the sea. But as far as historical tradition may be depended upon, Polycrates is the only individual who projected the subjection of Ionia and the islands. Perfectly aware of these circumstances, Oroetes sent this message.

“OROETES TO POLYCRATES.

“ I understand that you are revolving some vast  
 “ project in your mind, but have not money respon-  
 “ sible to your views. Be advised by me, and you  
 “ will at the same time promote your own advan-  
 “ tage and preserve me. I am informed, and I be-  
 “ lieve it to be true, that king Cambyfes has de-  
 “ termined on my death. Receive, therefore, me  
 “ with my wealth, part of which shall be at your  
 “ disposal, part at mine: with the assistance of this  
 “ you may easily obtain the sovereignty of Greece.  
 “ If you have any suspicions, send to me some one  
 “ who is in your intimate confidence, and he shall  
 “ be convinced by demonstration.”

CXXIII. With these overtures Polycrates was so exceedingly delighted, that he was eager to comply with them immediately, for his love of money was excessive. He sent first of all, to examine into the truth of the affair, Mæandrius his secretary, called so after his father. This Mæandrius, not long afterwards, placed as a sacred donative in the temple of Juno, the rich furniture of the apartment of Polycrates. Oroetes, knowing the motive for which  
 this

this man came, contrived and executed the following artifice: He filled eight chests nearly to the top with stones, then covering over the surface with gold, they were tied together <sup>147</sup>, as if ready to be removed. Mæandrius on his arrival saw the above chests, and returned to make his report to Polycrates.

CXXIV. Polycrates, notwithstanding the predictions of the soothsayers, and the remonstrances of his friends, was preparing to meet Orcetès, when his daughter in a dream saw this vision: She beheld her father aloft in the air, washed by Jupiter, and anointed by the sun. Terrified by this incident, she used every means in her power to prevent his going

<sup>147</sup> *Tied together.*]—Before the use of locks, it was the custom in more ancient times to secure things with knots: of these some were so difficult, that he alone who possessed the secret was able to unravel them. The famous Gordian knot must be known to every one; this usage is often also alluded to by Homer:

Then bending with full force, around he roll'd  
A labyrinth of bands in fold on fold,  
Clos'd with Circæan art.

According to Eustathius, keys were a more modern invention, for which the Lacedæmonians are to be thanked.

Upon the above passage from Eustathius, Larcher remarks, that it is somewhat singular, that the Lacedæmonians, whose property was in common, should be the inventors of keys.

The version of Pope which I have given in the foregoing lines is very defective, and certainly inadequate to the expression of

ΑΥΤΗ' ΕΠΗΡΤΥΕ ΠΩΜΑ ΘΩΣ ΔΕΠΙ Δ'ΕΣΜΟΝ ΪΗΛ:

Ποικιλόν, ον ποτε μιν διδάε φρεσι ποτνια Κίρκη.—*T.*



to meet Orætes ; and as he was about to embark for this purpose, on board a fifty-oared galley, she persisted in auguring unfavourably of his expedition. At this he was so incensed, as to declare, that if he returned safe she should remain long unmarried. To this she expressed herself very desirous to submit ; being willing to continue long a virgin <sup>148</sup>, rather than be deprived of her father.

CXXV. Polycrates, disregarding all that had been said to him, set sail to meet Orætes. He was accompanied by many of his friends, and amongst the rest by Democedes <sup>149</sup>, the son of Calliphon ; he was a physician of Crotona, and the most skilful practitioner of his time. As soon as Polycrates arrived at Magnesia, he was put to a miserable death, unworthy of his rank and superior endowments. Of all the princes who ever reigned in Greece, those

<sup>148</sup> *Long a virgin.*]—To die a virgin, and without having any children, was amongst the ancients esteemed a very serious calamity. Electra in Sophocles enumerates this in the catalogue of her misfortunes :

A ΤΙΜΩΣ

Ταλαίη, ἀνιμψεύτος αἰεὶ οἰχόμε.—166.

Electra makes a similar complaint in the Orestes of Euripides ; as does also Polyxena at the point of death, in the Hecuba of Euripides.—T.

<sup>149</sup> *Democedes.*]—Of this personage a farther account is given in the fourth book. He is mentioned also by Ælian, in his Various History, book viii. chap. 17 ; and also by Athenæus, book xii. chap. 4. which last author informs us, that the physicians of Crotona were, on account of Democedes, esteemed the first in Greece!—See also chap. 131. of this book.—T.

of

of Syracuse alone excepted, none equalled Polycrates in magnificence. Orætes having basely put him to death <sup>150</sup>, fixed his body to a cross; his attendant he sent back to Samos, telling them, "They ought to be thankful, that he had not made them slaves." The strangers, and the servants of those who had accompanied Polycrates, he detained in servitude. The circumstance of his being suspended on a cross, fulfilled the vision of the daughter of Polycrates: for he was washed by Jupiter, that is to say by the rain, and he was anointed by the sun, for it extracted the moisture from his body. The great prosperity of Polycrates terminated in this unfortunate death, which indeed had been foretold him by Amasis king of Ægypt.

CXXVI. But it was not long before Orætes paid ample vengeance to the manes of Polycrates. After the death of Cambyfes, and the usurpation of the magi, Orætes, who had never deserved well of the Persians, whom the Medes had fraudulently deprived of the supreme authority, took the advan-

<sup>150</sup> Put him to death]—The Persians generally beheaded or flayed those whom they crucified: see an account of their treatment of Hippias, book vi. chap. 30. and of Leonidas, book vii. 238.—T.

The beautiful and energetic lines which Juvenal applied to Sejanus, are remarkably apposite to the circumstances and fate of Polycrates.

Quî nimios optabat honores,  
Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat  
Excelsæ turris tabulata, unde altior esset  
Casus, et impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ.—T.



stage of the disorder of the times<sup>151</sup>, to put to death Mitrobates, the governor of Dascylium, and his son Cranapes. Mitrobates, was the person who had formerly reproached Orætes; and both he and his son were highly esteemed in Persia. In addition to his other numerous and atrocious crimes, he compassed the death of a messenger, sent to him from Darius, for no other reason but because the purport of the message was not agreeable to him. He ordered the man to be way-laid in his return, and both he and his horse were slain, and their bodies concealed.

CXXVII. As soon as Darius ascended the throne, he determined to punish Orætes for his various enormities, but more particularly for the murder of Mitrobates and his son. He did not think it prudent to send an armed force openly against him, as the state was still unsettled, and as his own authority had been so recently obtained; he was informed, moreover, that Orætes possessed considerable strength: his government extended over Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, and he was regularly attended by a guard of a thousand men. Darius was, therefore, induced to adopt this mode of proceeding: He assembled the noblest of the Persians, and thus addressed them: “Which of you, Oh Persians! will undertake for me the accomplishment of a project which requires

<sup>151</sup> *Disorder of the times.*]—For *τὴ ταύτῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ*, which prevailed in preceding editions, Westeling proposes to read *τὴ ταύτῃ ταρχῇ*, which removes all perplexity.—T.

“ sagacity alone, without military aid, or any kind  
 “ of violence ; for where wisdom is required force  
 “ is of little avail ? Which of you will bring me  
 “ the body of Oroëtes, alive or dead ? He has never  
 “ deserved well of the Persians ; and, in addition to  
 “ his numerous crimes, he has killed two of our  
 “ countrymen, Mitrobates and his son. He has  
 “ also, with intolerable insolence, put a messenger  
 “ of mine to death : we must prevent, therefore,  
 “ his perpetrating any greater evils against us, by  
 “ putting him to death.”

CXXVIII. When Darius had thus spoken, thirty Persians offered to accomplish what he wished. As they were disputing on the subject, the king ordered the decision to be made by lot, which fell upon Bagæus, the son of Artontes. To attain the end which he proposed, he caused a number of letters to be written on a variety of subjects, and prefixing to them the seal of Darius, he proceeded with them to Sardis. As soon as he came to the presence of Oroëtes, he delivered the letters one by one to the king's secretary ; one of whom is regularly attendant upon the governors of provinces. The motive of Bagæus in delivering the letters separately was to observe the disposition of the guards, and how far they might be inclined to revolt from Oroëtes. When he saw that they treated the letters with great respect <sup>152</sup>, and their contents with still

<sup>152</sup> *Treated the letters with great respect.* ]—At the present pe-  
 L 3



still greater, he delivered one to this effect: "Persians, king Darius forbids your serving any longer Orætes as guards:" in a moment they threw down their arms. Bagæus, observing their prompt obedience in this instance, assumed still greater confidence, he delivered the last of his letters, of which these were the contents: "King Darius commands the Persians who are at Sardis to put Orætes to death:" without hesitation they drew their swords and killed him. In this manner was the death of Polycrates of Samos revenged on Orætes the Persian.

CXXIX. Upon the death of Orætes, his effects were all of them removed to Susa. Not long after which Darius, as he was engaged in the chace, in leaping from his horse twisted his foot with so much violence, that the ancle-bone was quite dislocated. Having at his court some Ægyptians, supposed to be the most skilful of the medical profession, he trusted to their assistance. They, however, encreased the evil, by twisting and otherwise violently handling the part affected: from the extreme pain which he endured, the king passed seven days and as many nights without sleep. In this situation, on the eighth day, some one ventured to recommend Democedes of Crotona, having before heard of his reputation at Sardis. Darius immediately sent

riod the distinction observed with regard to letters in the East is this: those sent to common persons are rolled up, and not sealed; those sent to noblemen and princes are sealed up, and enclosed in rich bags of silk or satin curiously embroidered.—T.

for

for him: he was discovered amongst the slaves of Oroetes, where he had continued in neglect, and was brought to the king just as he was found, in chains and in rags.

CXXX. As soon as he appeared, Darius asked him if he had any knowledge of medicine? In the apprehension that if he discovered his art, he should never have the power of returning to Greece, Democedes for a while disssembled; which Darius perceiving, he ordered those who had brought him to produce the instruments of punishment and torture. Democedes began then to be more explicit, and confessed that, although he possessed no great knowledge of the art, yet by his communication with a physician he had obtained some little proficiency. The management of the case was then entrusted to him; he accordingly applied such medicines and strong fomentations as were customary in Greece, by which means Darius, who began to despair of ever recovering the entire use of his foot, was not only enabled to sleep, but in a short time perfectly restored to health. In acknowledgment of his cure, Darius presented him with two pair of fetters of gold: upon which Democedes ventured to ask the king, whether, in return for his restoring him to health, he wished to double his calamity<sup>153</sup>? The king,

<sup>153</sup> *Double his calamity.*]—The ancients were very fond of this play upon words:—See in the *Septem contra Thebas* of Æschylus, a play on the word Polynices:



king, delighted with the reply, sent the man to the apartments of his women: the eunuchs who conducted him informed them, that this was the man who had restored the king to life; accordingly, every one of them taking out a vase of gold<sup>154</sup>, gave it to Democedes with the case. The present was so very valuable, that a servant who followed him behind, whose name was Sciton, by gathering up the staters which fell to the ground, obtained a prodigious sum of money.

Οἱ δ' ἤτ' ὁρθως κατ' ἐπανυμνήν  
 Καὶ πολυνεικίαις  
 Ὀλοῖτ' ἀσεβει διανοίσχ.—v. 833.

The particular point in this passage is omitted by Mr. Potter, probably because he did not find it suited to the genius of the English language.

See also Ovid's description of the flower:

Ipsē suos gemitus foliis inscribit et ai ai  
 Flos habet inscriptum. T.

<sup>154</sup> *Taking out a vase of gold.*]—This is one of the most perplexed passages in Herodotus; and the conjectures of the critics are proportionably numerous. The great difficulty consists in ascertaining what is designed by ὑπολυπνισσα and θηκη. The φιαλη appears to have been a jar or vase, probably itself of gold. Few have doubted that the passage is corrupt: the best conjectural reading gives this sense, “that each, taking gold out of a chest in a vase, (φιαλη) gave it, vase and all, to Democedes. Ὑπολυπνισσα is thus made to signify plunging the vase among the gold to fill it, as a pitcher into water, which sense is confirmed by good authorities. The idea more immediately excited by the word, is, that they struck the bottom of the vase to shake out all the gold; but according to this interpretation, the vase itself is the θηκη, or case.—T.

CXXXI. The following was what induced Democedes to forsake Crotona, and attach himself to Polycrates. At Crotona he suffered continual restraint from the austere temper of his father; this becoming insupportable he left him, and went to Ægina. In the first year of his residence at this place he excelled the most skilful of the medical profession, without having had any regular education, and indeed without the common instruments of the art. His reputation, however, was so great, that in the second year the inhabitants of Ægina, by general consent, engaged his services at the price of one talent. In the third year the Athenians retained him, at a salary of one hundred minæ<sup>155</sup>;

<sup>155</sup> One hundred minæ.]—Valcnaer suspects that this place has been altered by some copyists. Athens, in the time of its greatest splendor, allowed their ambassadors but two drachmæ a day, and a hundred drachmæ make but one mina. If when the Athenians were rich they gave no more to an ambassador, how is it likely that, when they were exceedingly poor, they should give a pension of a hundred minæ to a physician? Thus far Valcnaer. From this and other passages in the ancient writers, it appears that in remoter times it was usual to hire physicians for the assistance of a whole city by the year. The fees which were given physicians for a single incidental visit, was very inconsiderable, as appears from the famous verses of Crates, preserved by Diogenes Laertius.

Τίθει μαγειρῶ μνᾶς δέκ', ἱατρῶ δραχμὴν  
Κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβέλω καπνὸν  
Πόρην τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.

“To a cook 30*l.*; to a physician two groats; to a flatterer 900*l.*; to a counsellor nothing; to a whore 180*l.*; to a philosopher a groat.” The above is supposed to describe part of the accounts of a man of fortune.—*T.*

and



and in the fourth year Polycrates engaged to give him two talents. His residence was then fixed at Samos; and to this man the physicians of Crotona are considerably indebted for the reputation which they enjoy; for at this period, in point of medical celebrity, the physicians of Crotona held the first, and those of Cyrene the next place. At this time also the Argives had the credit of being the most skilful musicians<sup>156</sup> of Greece.

CXXXII. Democedes having in this manner restored the king to health, had a sumptuous house provided him at Susa, was entertained at the king's own table, and, except the restriction of not being able to return to Greece, enjoyed all that he could wish. The Ægyptian physicians, who had before the care of the king's health, were on account of their inferiority to Democedes, a Greek, condemned to the cross, but he obtained their pardon. He also procured the liberty of an Elean soothsayer, who having followed Polycrates was detained and neglected amongst his other slaves. It may be added, that Democedes remained in the highest estimation with the king.

CXXXIII. It happened not long afterwards, that Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife of Darius,

<sup>156</sup> *Musicians.*]—Music was an important part of Grecian education. Boys till they were ten years old were taught to read by the grammatistes; they were then taught music three years by the citharistes; after their thirteenth year they learned the gymnastic exercises, under the care of the paidotades.—T.

had an ulcer upon her breast, which finally breaking spread itself considerably. As long as it was small, she was induced by delicacy to conceal it; but when it grew more troublesome she sent for Democedes, and shewed it to him. He told her he was able to cure it; but exacted of her an oath, that in return she should serve him in what he might require, which he assured her should be nothing to disgrace her.

CXXXIV. Atossa was cured by his skill, and, observant of her own promise and his instructions, she took the opportunity of thus addressing Darius, whilst she was in bed with him: “It is wonderful, my lord, that having such a numerous army at command, you have neither encreased the power of Persia, nor at all extended your dominions. It becomes a man like you, in the vigour of your age, and master of so many and such powerful resources, to perform some act which may satisfy the Persians of the spirit and virtue of their prince. There are two reasons which give importance to what I recommend:—The one, that your subjects may venerate the manly accomplishments of their master; the other, that you may prevent the indolence of peace exciting them to tumult and sedition. Do not therefore consume your youth in inactivity, for the powers of the mind<sup>157</sup> increase and improve  
“ with

<sup>157</sup> *Powers of the mind.*]—This opinion is thus expressed by



“ with those of the body; and in like manner as  
 “ old age comes on they become weaker and  
 “ weaker, till they are finally blunted to every  
 “ thing.” “ What you say <sup>258</sup>,” answered Darius,  
 “ coincides with what was passing in my mind. I  
 “ had intended to make war against Scythia, and  
 “ to construct a bridge to unite our continent with  
 “ the other, which things shall soon be executed.”  
 “ Will it not, Sir,” returned Atossa, “ be better to  
 “ defer your intentions against the Scythians, who  
 “ will at any time afford you an easy conquest?  
 “ Rather make an expedition against Greece: I  
 “ wish much to have for my attendants some

by Lucretius, which I give the reader from the version of  
 Creech.

Besides, 'tis plain that souls are born and grow,  
 And all by age decay as bodies do:  
 To prove this truth, in infants minds appear  
 Infirm and tender, as their bodies are;  
 In man the mind is strong; when age prevails,  
 And the quick vigour of each member fails,  
 The mind's pow'rs too decrease and waste apace,  
 And grave and reverend folly takes the place. T.

“ *What you say.* ]—I have not translated  $\Omega$  γυναι, which is in  
 the original, because I do not think we have any correspondent  
 word in our language. Oh woman! would be vulgar; and ac-  
 cording to our *norma loquendi*, Oh wife! would not be adequate.  
 In the Ajax of Sophocles, v. 293, γυναι is used to express con-  
 tempt; but in the passage before us it certainly denotes tender-  
 ness. The address of our Saviour to his mother proves this  
 most satisfactorily:—See also Homer:

Και εμοι ταδε παρτα μολει γυναι. —T.

“ women

“ women of Sparta, Argos, Athens, and Corinth, of whom I have heard so much. You have, moreover, in the man who healed the wound of your foot, the properest person in the world to describe and explain to you every thing which relates to Greece.” “ If it be your wish,” replied Darius, “ that I should first make a military excursion against Greece, it will be proper to send thither previously some Persians as spies, in company with the man to whom you allude. As soon as they return, and have informed me of the result of their observations, I will proceed against Greece.”

CXXXV. Darius having delivered his sentiments, no time was lost in fulfilling them. As soon as the morning appeared he sent for fifteen Persians of approved reputation, and commanded them, in company with Democedes, to examine every part of the sea-coast of Greece, enjoining them to be very watchful of Democedes, and by all means to bring him back with them. When he had done this, he next sent for Democedes himself, and after desiring him to examine and explain to the Persians every thing which related to Greece, he entreated him to return in their company. All the valuables which he possessed he recommended him to take, as presents to his father and his brethren, assuring him that he should be provided with a greater number on his return. He moreover informed him, that he had directed a vessel to accompany him, which



which was to be furnished with various things of value. In these professions Darius, as I am of opinion, was perfectly sincere; but Democedes, apprehending that the king meant to make trial of his fidelity, accepted these proposals without much acknowledgment. He desired, however, to leave his own effects, that they might be ready for his use at his return; but he accepted the vessel which was to carry the presents for his family. Darius, after giving these injunctions to Democedes, dismissed the party to prosecute their voyage.

CXXXVI. As soon as they arrived at Sidon, in Phœnicia, they manned two triremes, and loaded a large transport with different articles of wealth; after this they proceeded to Greece, examining the sea-coasts with the most careful attention. When they had informed themselves of the particulars relating to the most important places in Greece, they passed over to Tarentum<sup>159</sup> in Italy. Here Aristophilides, prince of Tarentum, and a native of Crotona, took away the helms of the Median vessels, and detained the Persians as spies. Whilst his companions were in this predicament, Democedes himself went to Crotona. Upon his arrival at his native place, Aristophilides gave the Persians their

<sup>159</sup> *Tarentum.*]—These places, with the slightest variation possible, retain their ancient names. We now say the gulph of Tarento, and Crotona is now called Cotrone.—T.

liberty, and restored what he had taken from them.

CXXXVII. The Persians, as soon as they recovered their liberty, sailed to Crotona, in pursuit of Democedes, and meeting with him in the forum, seized his person. Some of the inhabitants, through fear of the Persian power, were willing to deliver him up; others, on the contrary, beat the Persians with clubs; who exclaimed, "Men of Crotona, consider what ye do, in taking away from us a fugitive from our king. Do you imagine that you will derive any advantage from this insult to Darius; will not rather your city be the first object of our hostilities, the first that we shall plunder and reduce to servitude?" These menaces had but little effect upon the people of Crotona, for they not only assisted Democedes to escape, but also deprived the Persians of the vessel which accompanied them. They were, therefore, under the necessity of returning to Asia, without exploring any more of Greece, being thus deprived of their conductor. On their departure Democedes commissioned them to inform Darius, that he was married to a daughter of Milo, the name of Milo the wrestler being well known to the Persian monarch. To me it seems that he accelerated his marriage, and expended a vast sum of money on the occasion, to convince Darius that he enjoyed in his own country no mean reputation.

CXXXVIII. The Persians, leaving Crotona,  
were



were driven by contrary winds to Japygia<sup>160</sup>, where they were made slaves. Gillus, an exile of Tarentum, ransomed them, and sent them home to Darius. For this service the king declared himself willing to perform whatever Gillus should require, who accordingly explaining the circumstances of his misfortune, requested to be restored to his country. But Darius thinking that if, for the purpose of effecting the restoration of this man, a large fleet should be fitted out, all Greece would take alarm; he said that the Cnidians would of themselves be able to accomplish it: imagining that as this people were in alliance with the Tarentines, it might be effected without difficulty. Darius acceded to his wishes, and sent a messenger to Cnidos<sup>161</sup>, requiring them to restore Gillus to Tarentum. The Cnidians were desirous to satisfy Darius; but their solicitations had no effect on the Tarentines, and they were not in a situation to employ force.—Of these particulars the above is a faithful relation, and these were the first Persians who, with the view

<sup>160</sup> *Japygia*.]—This place is now called Cape de Leuca.—T.

<sup>161</sup> *Cnidos*.]—At this remote period, when navigation was certainly in its infancy, it seems not a little singular that there should be any communication or alliance between the people of Tarentum and of Cnidos. The distance is not inconsiderable, and the passage certainly intricate. Ctesias, the historian, was a native of Cnidos; here also was the beautiful statue of Venus, by Praxiteles; here also was Venus worshipped. Oh Venus regina Cnidi Paphique, &c.

It is now a very miserable place, and called Cape Chio or Cnio.—T.

of examining the state of Greece, passed over thither from Asia.

CXXXIX. Not long afterwards Darius besieged and took Samos. This was the first city, either of Greeks or barbarians, which felt the force of his arms, and for these reasons: Cambyfes, in his expedition against Ægypt, was accompanied by a great number of Greeks. Some, as it is probable, attended him from commercial views, others as soldiers, and many from no other motive than curiosity. Among these last was Sylofon, an exile of Samos, son of Æaces, and brother of Polycrates. It happened one day very fortunately for this Sylofon, that he was walking in the great square of Memphis with a red cloak folded about him. Darius, who was then in the king's guards, and of no particular consideration, saw him, and was so delighted with his cloak, that he went up to him with the view of purchasing it. Sylofon, observing that Darius was very solicitous to have the cloak, happily, as it proved for him, expressed himself thus:—" I " would not part with this cloak for any pecuniary " consideration whatever; but if it must be so, I will " make you a present of it." Darius praised his generosity, and accepted the cloak.

CXL. Sylofon for a while thought he had foolishly lost his cloak, but afterwards when Cambyfes died, and the seven conspirators had destroyed the Magus, he learned that Darius, one of these seven, had obtained the kingdom, and was the very man



to whom formerly at his request, in Ægypt, he had given his cloak. He went, therefore, to Susa, and presenting himself before the royal palace, said that he had once done a service to the king. Of this circumstance the porter informed the king; who was much astonished, and exclaimed, "To what Greek can I possibly be obliged for any services?" "I have not long been in possession of my authority," and since this time no Greek has been admitted "to my presence, nor can I at all remember being indebted to one of that nation. Introduce him, however, that I may know what he has to say." Syloson was accordingly admitted to the royal presence; and being interrogated by interpreters who he was, and in what circumstance he had rendered service to the king, he told the story of the cloak, and said that he was the person who had given it. In reply, Darius exclaimed, "Are you then that generous man, who, at a time when I was possessed of no authority, made me a present, which, though small, was as valuable to me then, as any thing of importance would be to me now? I will give you in return, that you may never repent of your kindness to Darius, the son of Hytaspes, abundance of gold and silver." "Sir," replied Syloson, "I would have neither gold nor silver; give me Samos my country, and deliver it from servitude. Since the death of Polycrates my brother, whom Orætes slew, it has been in the hands of one of our slaves. Give me this, Sir, without any effusion of blood, or reducing my countrymen to servitude."

CXLI. On hearing this Darius sent an army, commanded by Otanes, one of the seven, with orders to accomplish all that Syloson had desired. Otanes proceeded to the sea, and embarked with his troops.

CXLII. The supreme authority at Samos was then possessed by Mæandrius, son of Mæandrius, to whom it had been confided by Polycrates himself. He was desirous of proving himself a very honest man, but the times would not allow him. As soon as he was informed of the death of Polycrates, the first thing he did was to erect an altar to Jupiter Liberator, tracing round it the sacred ground, which may now be seen in the neighbourhood of the city. Having done this, he assembled the citizens of Samos, and thus addressed them :  
“ You are well acquainted that Polycrates confided  
“ to me his sceptre and his power, which if I think  
“ proper I may retain ; but I shall certainly avoid  
“ doing that myself which I deemed reprehensible  
“ in another. The ambition of Polycrates to rule  
“ over men who were his equals, always seemed to  
“ me unjust ; nor can I approve of a like conduct in  
“ any man. Polycrates has yielded to his destiny ; and  
“ for my part, I lay down the supreme authority, and  
“ restore you all to an equality of power. I only  
“ claim, which I think I reasonably may, six talents  
“ to be given me from the wealth of Polycrates, as  
“ well as the appointment in perpetuity to me and  
“ my posterity of the priesthood of Jupiter Libera-  
“ tor, whose temple I have traced out ; and then I re-



“store you to liberty.” When Mæandrius had thus spoken, a Samian exclaimed from the midst of the assembly, “You are not worthy to rule over us, your principles are bad, and your conduct reproachable. Rather let us make you give an account of the wealth which has passed through your hands.” The name of this person was Telefarchus, a man much respected by his fellow-citizens.

CXLIII. Mæandrius revolved this circumstance in his mind; and being convinced that if he resigned his power some other would assume it, he determined to continue as he was. Returning to the citadel, he sent for the citizens, as if to give them an account of the monies which had been alluded to, instead of which he seized and confined them. Whilst they remained in imprisonment Mæandrius was taken ill; his brother Lycaretus, not thinking he would recover, that he might the more easily succeed in his views upon Samos put the citizens who were confined to death; indeed it did not appear that they were desirous of life under the government of a tyrant<sup>162</sup>.

CXLIV. When, therefore, the Persians arrived at Samos, with the view of restoring Syloson, they had no resistance to encounter. The Mæandrian faction expressed themselves on certain conditions ready to submit; and Mæandrius himself consented

<sup>162</sup> *The government of a tyrant.*]—See Wesseling’s note and Paw’s conjecture upon this passage.—T.

to leave the island. Their propositions were accepted by Otanes ; and whilst they were employed in ratifying them, the principal men of the Persians had seats brought, on which they placed themselves in front of the citadel.

CXLV. Mæandrius had a brother, whose name was Charileus, who was of an untoward disposition, and for some offence was kept chained in a dungeon. As soon as he heard what was doing, and beheld from his place of confinement the Persians sitting at their ease, he clamorously requested to speak with Mæandrius. Mæandrius, hearing this, ordered him to be unbound, and brought before him. As soon as he came into his presence, he began to reproach and abuse him, earnestly importuning him to attack the Persians. “ Me,” he exclaimed, “ who am your brother, and who have “ done nothing worthy of chains, you have most “ basely kept bound in a dungeon ; but on the “ Persians, who would afford you an easy victory, “ and who mean to drive you into exile, you dare “ not take revenge. If your fears prevent you, give “ me your auxiliary troops, who am equally disposed “ to punish them for coming here, and to expel “ you yourself from our island.”

CXLVI. To this discourse Mæandrius gave a favourable ear, not, I believe, that he was absurd enough to imagine himself equal to a contest with the forces of the king, but from a spirit of envy



against Syloson, and to prevent his receiving the government of Samos without trouble or exertion. He wished, by irritating the Persians, to debilitate the power of Samos, and then to deliver it into their hands; for he well knew that the Persians would resent whatever insults they might receive upon the Samians, and as to himself he was certain that whenever he pleased he could depart unmolested, for he had provided a secret path, which led immediately from the citadel to the sea, by which he afterwards escaped. In the mean while Charileus, having armed the auxiliaries, opened the gates, and sallied forth to attack the Persians, who so far from expecting any thing of the kind, believed that a truce had been agreed upon, and was then in force. Upon these Persians, who were sitting at their ease, and who were persons of distinction, the Samians sallied, and put them to death; the rest of the troops, however, soon came to their assistance, by whom the party of Charileus was repulsed, and obliged again to seek shelter in the citadel.

CXLVII. Otanes, the commander in chief, had hitherto observed the orders of Darius, not to put any Samian to death, or to take any prisoners, but to deliver the island to Syloson, secure and without injury; but seeing so great a slaughter of his countrymen, his indignation prevailed, and he ordered his soldiers to put every Samian they could meet with to death, without any distinction of age. Immediately part of his forces blockaded the citadel, whilst

whilst another part were putting the inhabitants to the sword, not suffering the sacred places to afford any protection.

CXLVIII. Mæandrius leaving Samos, sailed to Lacedæmon. On his arrival there with his wealth, he set in order his goblets of gold and silver, and directed his servants to clean them. Having entered into conversation with Cleomenes<sup>163</sup>, son of Anaxandrides, the king of Sparta, he invited him to his house. Cleomenes saw his plate, and was struck with astonishment. Mæandrius desired him to accept of what he pleased<sup>164</sup>; but Cleomenes  
was

<sup>163</sup> *Cleomenes,*]—Of this Cleomenes a memorable saying is preserved in the Apophthegms of Plutarch. It relates to Homer and Hesiod, the former he called the poet of the Lacedæmonians, the latter the poet of the Helots, or the slaves; because Homer gave directions for military conduct, Hesiod about the cultivation of the earth.—*T.*

<sup>164</sup> *To accept of what he pleased.*]—This self-denial will appear less, extraordinary to an English reader, when he is informed, that according to the institutions of Lycurgus, it was a capital offence for a Spartan to have any gold or silver in his possession. This we learn from Xenophon; and it is also ascertained by the following passage from Athenæus, see the sixth book of the Deipnosoph: “The divine Plato and Lycurgus of Sparta would not suffer in their republics either gold or silver, thinking that of all the metals iron and brass were sufficient.” Plutarch, in the life of Lyfander, tells us of a man named Therax, who, though the friend and colleague of Lyfander, was put to death by the ephori, because some silver was found in his house. The self-denial, therefore, or rather forbearance of the ancient Romans, amongst whom no such interdiction existed, seems better entitled to our praise. This sumptuary law with respect



was a man of the strictest probity, and although Mæandrius persisted in importuning him to take something, he would by no means consent; but hearing that some of his fellow-citizens had received presents from Mæandrius, he went to the ephori, and gave it as his opinion, that it would be better for the interests of Sparta to expel this Samian from the Peloponnese, lest either he himself, or any other Spartan, should be corrupted by him. The advice of Cleomenes was generally approved, and Mæandrius received a public order to depart.

CXLIX. When the Persians had taken the Samians as in a net<sup>165</sup>, they delivered the island to Syloson almost without an inhabitant<sup>166</sup>. After a certain interval, however, Oranes, the Persian general, re-peopled it, on account of some vision which he had, as well as from a disorder which seized his privities.

CL. Whilst the expedition against Samos was on foot, the Babylonians, being very well pre-

pared to gold and silver, took its rise from an oracle, which affirmed that the destruction of Sparta would be owing to its avarice:—it was this,

Α' φιλοχρηματια Σπαρταν ἐλπί.

Τ.

<sup>165</sup> *As in a net.*]—The Greek is *σαγγενευσαντες*, which was the custom of the Persians, and was also done with respect to the islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, see book vi. chap. 31, where their manner of doing it is described.—Τ.

<sup>166</sup> *Without an inhabitant.*]—Strabo imputes this want of inhabitants to the cruelty of Syloson, and not to the severity of the Persians.—*Larcher.*

pared,

pared, revolted. During the reign of the Magus, and whilst the seven were engaged in their conspiracy against him, they had taken advantage of the confusion of the times to provide against a siege, and their exertions had never been discovered. When they had once resolved on the recovery of their liberties, they took this measure:—Excepting their mothers, every man chose from his family the female whom he liked best, the remainder were all of them assembled together, and strangled<sup>167</sup>. Their reserve of one woman was to bake their bread<sup>168</sup>; the rest were destroyed to prevent a famine.

CLI. / On the first intelligence of this event, Darius assembled his forces, and marched against them: on his arrival before the city, he besieged it in form. This, however, made so little impression upon them, that they assembled upon the ramparts, amused themselves with dancing, and treated Darius and his army with the extremest contempt. One amongst them exclaimed, “ Persians, why do

<sup>167</sup> *Assembled together and strangled.*]—Prideaux, making mention of this strange and unnatural action, omits informing his readers that the Babylonians made an exception in favour of their mothers; but by this barbarous action the prophecy of Isaiah against this people was very signally fulfilled:—

“ But these two things shall come to thee in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood; they shall come upon thee in their perfection, for the multitude of thy forceries, and for the great abundance of thine enchantments.” Isaiah, xlvii. 9.—*T.*

<sup>168</sup> *Bake their bread.*]—This anciently was the employment of the women, see book vii. chap. 187.—*T.*

“ you



“you lose your time? if you be wise, depart. When  
 “mules produce young”<sup>169</sup> you shall take Baby-  
 “lon.” This was the speech of a Babylonian, not  
 believing such a thing possible.

CLII. A whole year and seven months having  
 been consumed before the place, Darius and his  
 army began to be hopeless with respect to the event.  
 They had applied all the offensive engines, and  
 every stratagem, particularly those which Cyrus had  
 before successfully used against the Babylonians;  
 but every attempt proved ineffectual, from the un-  
 remitting vigilance of the besieged.

CLIII. In the twentieth month of the siege, the  
 following remarkable prodigy happened to Zopyrus,

<sup>169</sup> *Mules produce young.*]—Upon this passage M. Larcher re-  
 marks, that mules but seldom engender. As I have never seen nor  
 heard of any well-authenticated account of such a circumstance,  
 I give the reader the following passage from Pennant, with some  
 confidence of its being invariably the case. “Neither mules, nor  
 the spurious offspring of any other animal, generate any farther:  
 all these productions may be looked upon as monsters; therefore,  
 nature, to preserve the original species of animals entire and  
 pure, wisely stops, in instances of deviation, the powers of pro-  
 pagation.”

What Theophrastus or Pliny may have asserted, in contradic-  
 tion to the above, will weigh but very little against the unquali-  
 fied assertion of so able a naturalist as Mr. Pennant. The  
 circumstance was ever considered as a prodigy, as appears from  
 the following lines of Juvenal:

Egregium, sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri  
 Hoc monstrum puero, vel miranti sub aratro  
 Piscibus inventis et *setæ* comparo *mule*.—T.

son

son of Megabyzus, who was one of the seven that dethroned the Magus: one of the mules employed to carry his provisions produced a young one; which, when it was first told him, he disbelieved, and desired to see it; forbidding those who had witnessed the fact to disclose it, he revolved it seriously in his mind; and remembering the words of the Babylonian, who had said the city should be taken when a mule brought forth, he from this conceived that Babylon was not impregnable. The saying itself, and the mule's having a young one, seemed to indicate something preternatural.

CLIV. Having satisfied himself that Babylon might be taken, he went to Darius, and enquired if the capture of this city was of particular importance to him. Hearing that it really was, he began to think how he might have the honour of effecting it by himself; for in Persia there is no more certain road to greatness, than by the performance of illustrious actions. He conceived there was no more probable means of obtaining his end, than first to mutilate himself, and thus pass over to the enemy. He made no scruple to wound himself beyond the power of being healed, for he cut off his nose and his ears, and clipping his hair close, so as to give it a mean appearance<sup>170</sup>, he scourged himself; and

<sup>170</sup> *To give it a mean appearance.*]—I do not remember an instance of the hair being cut off as a punishment; it was frequently



and in this condition presented himself before Darius.

CLV. When the king beheld a man of his illustrious rank in so deplorable a condition, he instantly leaped in anger from his throne<sup>17</sup>, and asked who had dared to treat him with such barbarity? Zopyrus made this reply, "No man, Sir, except yourself, could have this power over my person; I alone have thus disfigured my body, which I was prompted to do from vexation at beholding the Assyrians thus mock us."—"Wretched man," answered the king, "do you endeavour to disguise the shameful action you have perpetrated under an honourable name? Do you suppose that because you have thus deformed yourself, the enemy will the sooner surrender? I fear what you have done has been occasioned by some defect of your rea-

quently done as expressive of mourning in the most remote times; and it was one characteristic mark of the servile condition. See Juvenal, sat. v. book i. 170.

Omnia ferre

Si potes et debes pulsandum vertice raso

Præbebis quandoque caput, nec dura tenebis

Flagra pati, his epulis et tali dignus amico. T.

<sup>17</sup> [*Leaped in anger from his throne.*]—This incident, with the various circumstances attending it, properly considered, would furnish an artist with an excellent subject for an historical painting—The city of Babylon at a distance, the Persian camp, the king's tent, himself and principal nobles in deep consultation, with the sudden appearance of Zopyrus in the mutilated condition here described, might surely be introduced and arranged with the most admirable effect.—T.

"son."

“son.” “Sir,” answered Zopyrus, “if I had  
 “previously disclosed to you my intentions, you  
 “would have prevented their accomplishment; my  
 “present situation is the result of my own determi-  
 “nation only. If you do not fail me, Babylon is  
 “our own. I propose to go, in the condition in  
 “which you see me, as a deserter to the Babylo-  
 “nians: it is my hope to persuade them that I have  
 “suffered these cruelties from you, and that they  
 “will, in consequence, give me some place of mi-  
 “litary trust. Do you, on the tenth day after my  
 “departure, detach to the gate of Semiramis<sup>172</sup> a  
 “thousand men of your army, whose loss will be of  
 “no consequence; at an interval of seven days more  
 “send to the Ninian gates other two thousand; again,  
 “after twenty days, let another party, to the number  
 “of four thousand, be ordered to the Chaldean gates,  
 “but let none of these detachments have any wea-

<sup>172</sup> *The gate of Semiramis.*]—Mr. Bryant’s remark on this word is too curious to be omitted:—

Semiramis was an emblem, and the name was a compound, of Sama-Ramas, or Ramis: it signified the divine token, the type of providence; and as a military ensign, it may with some latitude be interpreted the standard of the Most High. It consisted of the figure of a dove, which was probably encircled with the Iris, as those two emblems were often represented together. All who went under that standard, or who payed any deference to that emblem, were stiled Semarim and Samorim. One of the gates of Babylon was stiled the gate of Semiramis, undoubtedly from having the sacred emblem of Sama-Ramas, or the dove, engraved by way of distinction over it. Probably the lofty obelisk of Semiramis, mentioned by Diodorus, was named from the same hieroglyphic.

“pons



“ pons but their swords ; after this last-mentioned  
 “ period, let your whole army advance, and surround  
 “ the walls. At the Belidian and Cissian gates be  
 “ careful that Persians are stationed. I think that  
 “ the Babylonians, after witnessing my exploits in  
 “ the field, will entrust me with the keys of those  
 “ gates. Doubt not but the Persians, with my aid,  
 “ will then accomplish the rest.”

CLVI. After giving these injunctions, he proceeded towards the gates ; and, to be consistent in the character which he assumed <sup>173</sup>, he frequently stopped to look behind him. The centinels on the watch-towers, observing this, ran down to the gate,

<sup>173</sup> *The character which he assumed.*]—Many circumstances in history of Zopyrus resemble those of Sinon in the *Æneid*.

———— Qui se ignotum venientibus ultro  
 Hoc ipsum ut strueret, Trojamque aperiret Achivis,  
 Obtulerat, fidens animi, atque in utrumque paratus  
 Seu versare dolos, seu certæ occumbere morti.—

Both tell a miserable tale of injuries received from their countrymen, and both affect an extraordinary zeal to distinguish themselves in the service of their natural enemies.

Sinon says of himself

Cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, & super ipsi  
 Dardanidæ insensî pœnas cum sanguine poscunt.—

Again he says,

Fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere jura  
 Fas odisse viros, atque omnia ferre sub auras  
 Si qua tegunt : teneor patriæ nec legibus ullis. 7.

which,

which, opening a little, they enquired who he was, and what he wanted? When he told them his name was Zopyrus, and that he had deserted from the Persians, they conducted him before their magistrates. He then began a miserable tale of the injuries he had suffered from Darius, for no other reason but that he had advised him to withdraw his army, seeing no likelihood of his taking the city. "And now," says he, "ye men of Babylon, I come a friend to you, but a fatal enemy to Darius and his army. I am well acquainted with all his designs, and his treatment of me shall not be unrevenge'd."

CLVII. When the Babylonians beheld a Persian of such high rank deprived of his ears and his nose, covered with wounds and blood, they entertained no doubts of his sincerity, or of the friendliness of his intentions towards them. They were prepared to accede to all that he desired; and on his requesting a military command, they gave it him without hesitation. He then proceeded to the execution of what he had concerted with Darius. On the tenth day, at the head of some Babylonian troops, he made a sally from the town, and encountering the Persians, who had been stationed for this purpose by Darius, he put every one of them to death. The Babylonians, observing that his actions corresponded with his professions, were full of exultation, and were ready to yield him the most implicit obedience. A second time, at the head of a chosen detachment



tachment of the besieged, he advanced from the town at the time appointed, and slew the two thousand soldiers of Darius. The joy of the citizens at this second exploit was so extreme, that the name of Zopyrus resounded with praise from every tongue. The third time also, after the number of days agreed upon had passed, he led forth his troops, attacked and slaughtered the four thousand. Zopyrus, after this, was every thing with the Babylonians, so that they made him the commander of their army, and guardian of their walls.

CLVIII. At the time appointed Darius advanced with all his forces to the walls. The perfidy of Zopyrus then became apparent; for as soon as the Babylonians mounted the wall to repel the Persian assault, he immediately opened to his countrymen what are called the Belidian and Cissian gates. Those Babylonians who saw this transaction fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter Belus; they who saw it not, continued in their posts, till the circumstance of their being betrayed became notorious to all.

CLIX. Thus was Babylon a second time taken. As soon as Darius became master of the place <sup>174</sup>,  
he

<sup>174</sup> *Master of the place.*]—Plutarch informs us, in his Apophthegms, that Xerxes being incensed against the Babylonians for revolting, after having conquered them a second time forbade them

he levelled the walls, and took away the gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done before. Three thousand of the most distinguished nobility he ordered to be crucified; the rest were suffered to continue where they were. He took care also to provide them with women, for the Babylonians, as we have before remarked, to prevent a famine had strangled their wives. Darius ordered the neighbouring nations to send females to Babylon, each being obliged to furnish a stipulated number. These in all amounted to fifty thousand, from whom the Babylonians of the present day are descended.

CLX. With respect to the merit of Zopyrus, in the opinion of Darius it was exceeded by no Persian of any period, unless by Cyrus; to him, indeed, he thought no one of his countrymen could possibly be compared. It is affirmed of Darius, that he used frequently to assert, that he would rather Zopyrus had suffered no injury, than have been master of twenty Babylons more. He rewarded him magnificently: every year he presented him with the gifts deemed most honourable in Persia; he made him also governor of Babylon for life, free from

their carrying arms, and commanded them to employ their time in singing, music, and all kinds of dissipation, &c.

The Babylonians did not revolt under Xerxes. Plutarch assigns to him a fact, which regards Darius; however this may be, after the reduction of Babylon the Persian monarchs fixed their residence in three great cities; the winter they passed at Babylon, the summer at Media, doubtless at Ecbatane, and the greater part of the spring at Susa.—*Larcher.*



the payment of any tribute, and to these he added other marks of liberality. Megabyzus, who commanded in Ægypt against the Athenians and their allies, was a son of this Zopyrus, which Megabyzus had a son named Zopyrus <sup>175</sup>, who deserted from the Persians to the Athenians.

<sup>175</sup> *A son named Zopyrus.*]—Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, and grandson of the famous Zopyrus, revolted from Artaxerxes after the death of his father and mother, and advanced towards Athens, on account of the friendship which subsisted betwixt his mother and the Athenians. He went by sea to Caunus, and commanded the inhabitants to give up the place to the Athenians who were with him. The Caunians replied, that they were willing to surrender it to him, but they refused to admit any Athenians. Upon this he mounted the wall; but a Caunian, named Alcides, knocked him on the head with a stone. His grandmother Amestris afterwards crucified this Caunian.—*Larcher*,

# HERODOTUS.



## B O O K IV.

### M E L P O M E N E.

#### C H A P. I.



ARIUS, after the capture of Babylon, undertook an expedition against Scythia. Asia was now both populous and rich, and he was desirous of avenging on the Scythians the injuries they had formerly committed by entering Media, and defeating those who opposed them. During a period of twenty-eight years, the Scythians, as I have before remarked, retained the sovereignty of the Upper Asia, entering into which, when in pursuit of the Cimmerians<sup>1</sup>, they expelled the Medes, its ancient possessors.

<sup>1</sup> *Cimmerians.*]—From this people came the proverb of Cimmerian darkness.

We reach'd old ocean's utmost bounds,  
Where rocks controul his waves with ever-during mounds;



possessors. After this long absence from their country, the Scythians were desirous to return, but here as great a labour awaited them as they had experienced in their expedition into Media; for the women, deprived so long of their husbands, had connected themselves with their slaves, and they found a numerous body in arms ready to dispute their progress.

There in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,  
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells.  
The sun ne'er views th' uncomfortable seats,  
When radiant he advances or retreats.  
Unhappy race! whom endless night invades,  
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades.

*Odys.* book xi.

Of this proverb Ammianus Marcellinus makes a happy use, when censuring the luxury and effeminacy of the Roman nobility. "If," says he, (I use the version of Mr. Gibbon) "a fly should presume to settle in the silken folds of their gilded umbrellas, should a sun-beam penetrate through some unguarded and imperceptible chink, they deplore their intolerable hardships, and lament in affected language that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians, the regions of eternal darkness."

Ovid also chooses the vicinity of Cimmeria as the properest place for the palace of the god of sleep.

Est prope Cimmerios, longo spelunca recessu,  
Mons cavus, ignavi domus et penetralia Somni,  
Quo nunquam radiis oriens, mediæve, cadentive  
Phœbus adire potest, nebulae caligine mixtae  
Exhalantur humo, dubiaque crepuscula lucis.

The region assigned to this people in ancient geography was part of European Scythia, now called Little Tartary.—*T.*

II. It is a custom with the Scythians to deprive all their slaves of sight<sup>2</sup> on account of the milk<sup>3</sup>, which is their customary drink: They have a parti-

<sup>2</sup> *Deprive all (their slaves of sight.)*—Barbarous as this conduct will appear to every humane reader, although practised amongst an uncivilized race of men, he will be far more shocked when I remind him that in the most refined period of the Roman empire those who were deemed the wisest and most virtuous of mankind did not scruple to use their slaves with yet more atrocious cruelty. It was customary at Rome to expose slaves who were sick, old, and useless, to perish miserably in an island of the Tyber. Plutarch tells us, in his Life of Cato, that it was his custom to sell his old slaves for any price, to get rid of the burden. They were employed, and frequently in chains, in the most laborious offices, and for trivial offences, and not seldom on mere suspicion, were made to expire under the most horrid tortures that can be imagined.—*T.*

<sup>3</sup> *On account of the milk.*]—Of this people Homer speaks in the following lines.

And where the far-fam'd Hippomolgian strays,  
Renown'd for justice and for length of days,  
Thrice happy race, that, innocent of blood,  
From milk innoxious seek their simple food.—*Il.* xiii.

Upon this subject Larcher gives the following passage from Niebuhr:—

“J’entendis et vis moi-même, à Basra, que lorsqu’un Arabe trait la femelle du bœuf, un autre lui fourre la main et le bras jusqu’au coude, dans la vulva, parce qu’on prétend savoir par expérience qu’étant chatouillée de la sorte, elle donne plus de lait. Cette methode ressemble beaucoup a celle des Scythes.”—We learn, from some lines of Antiphanes, preserved in Athenæus, that the Scythians gave this milk to their children as soon as they were born.

Εἰτ' εὖ σοφοὶ δὴτ' εἰσὶν οἱ Σκυθαὶ σφοδρὰ ;  
Οἱ γενομένοισιν εὐθεὶς τοῖς παιδιοῖς  
Διαδιδάσιν ἰππῶν καὶ βοῶν πίνειν γάλα.



a particular kind of bone, shaped like a flute: this is applied to the private parts of a mare, and blown into from the mouth. It is one man's office to blow, another's to milk the mare. Their idea is, that the veins of the animal being thus inflated, the dugs are proportionably filled. When the milk is thus obtained, they place it in deep wooden vessels, and the slaves are directed to keep it in continual agitation. Of this that which remains at top<sup>4</sup> is most esteemed, what subsides is of inferior value. This it is which induces the Scythians to deprive all their captives of sight, for they do not cultivate the ground, but lead a pastoral life<sup>5</sup>.

III.

“Do not those Scythians appear to you remarkably wise who give to their children, as soon as ever they are born, the milk of mares and cows?”—*T.*

<sup>4</sup> *Remains at the top.*]—Is it not surprising, asks M. Larcher in this place, that neither the Greeks nor the Latins had any term in their language to express cream?

Butter also was unknown to the Greeks and Romans till a late period. Pliny speaks of it as a common article of food among barbarous nations, and used by them as an unction. The very name of butter (*βουτυρον*) which signifies cheese, or coagulum of cows milk, implies an imperfect notion of the thing. It is clear that Herodotus here describes the making of butter, though he knew no name for the product. Pliny remarks, that the barbarous nations were as peculiar in neglecting cheese, as in making butter. *Spuma lactis*, which that author uses in describing what butter is, seems a very proper phrase for cream. Butter is often mentioned in Scripture; see Harmer's curious accounts of the modes of making it in the East, vol. i. and iii.—*T.*

<sup>5</sup> *Lead a pastoral life.*]—The influence of food or climate, which

III. From the union of these slaves with the Scythian women, a numerous progeny was born, who, when informed of their origin, readily advanced to oppose those who were returning from Media. Their first exertion was to intersect the country by a large and deep trench, which extended from the mountains of Tauris to the Palus Mœotis. They then encamped opposite to the Scythians endeavouring to effect their passage. Various engagements ensued, in which the Scythians obtained no advantage. "My countrymen," at length one of them exclaimed, "what are we doing? In this contest with our slaves, every action diminishes our number, and by killing those who oppose us, the value of victory decreases: let us throw aside our darts and our arrows, and rush upon them only with the whips which we use for our horses. Whilst they see us with arms, they think themselves our equals in birth and importance; but as soon as they shall perceive the whip in our hands, they will be impressed with the sense of their servile condition, and resist no longer."

IV. The Scythians approved the advice; their

which in a more improved state of society is suspended or subdued by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form and to maintain the national character of barbarians. In every age the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life.—*Gibbon*.



opponents forgot their former exertions, and fled : so did the Scythians obtain the sovereignty of Asia ; and thus, after having been expelled by the Medes, they returned to their country. From the above motives Darius, eager for revenge, prepared to lead an army against them.

V. Of their country the Scythians affirm that it was of all others the last formed <sup>6</sup>, and in this manner :—When this region was in its original and desert state, the first inhabitant was named Targitaus, a son, as they say (but which to me seems incredible) of Jupiter, by a daughter of the Borysthenes. This Targitaus had three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and lastly Colaxais. Whilst they possessed the country there fell from heaven into the Scythian district a plough, a yoke, an ax, and a goblet, all of gold. The eldest of the brothers was the first who saw them; who running to take them, was burnt by the gold. On his retiring, the second brother approached, and was burnt also. When these two had been repelled by the burning gold, last of all the youngest brother advanced; upon him the gold had no effect, and he carried it to his house. The two elder brothers, observing what had happened, resigned all authority to the youngest.

VI. From Lipoxais those Scythians were descended who are termed the Auchatae; from Arpoxais, the second brother, those who are called the Catari and

<sup>6</sup> *Last formed.*]—Justin informs us, that the Scythians pretended to be more ancient than the Egyptians.—T.

the Traspies; from the youngest, who was king, came the Paralatæ<sup>7</sup>. Generally speaking, these people are named Scoloti, from a surname of their king, but the Greeks call them Scythians.

VII. This is the account which the Scythians give of their origin; and they add, that from their first king Targitaus, to the invasion of their country by Darius, is a period of a thousand years, and no more. The sacred gold is preserved by their kings with the greatest care; it is every year carried with great solemnity to every part of the kingdom, and upon this occasion there are sacrifices, with much pomp, at which the prince presides. They have a tradition, that if the person in whose custody this gold remains sleeps in the open air during the time of their annual festival, he dies before the end of the year; as much land is therefore given him,<sup>8</sup> as he can pass over on horseback in the course of a day<sup>9</sup>. As this region is extensive, king Colaxais

<sup>7</sup> *Paralatæ.*]—This passage will be involved in much perplexity, unless for *τες βασιληας* be read *του βασιληος*.—*T*.

<sup>8</sup> *As much land is therefore given him.*]—This is, beyond doubt, a very perplexed and difficult passage; and all that the different annotators have done has been to intimate their conjectures. I have followed that which to my judgment seemed the happiest.—*T*.

<sup>9</sup> *On horseback in the course of a day.*]—Larcher adduces, from Pliny, Ovid, and Seneca, the three following passages, to prove that anciently this was the mode of rewarding merit:

*Dona amplissima imperatorum et fortium civium quantum quis uno die plurimum circumaravisset.*—*Pliny*.



Colaxais divided the country into three parts, which he gave to three sons, making that portion the largest in which the gold was deposited. As to the district which lays farther to the north, and beyond the extreme inhabitants of the country, they say that it neither can be passed, nor yet discerned with the eye, on account of the feathers <sup>10</sup> which are continually falling: with these both the earth and the air are so filled, as effectually to obstruct the view.

VIII. Such is the manner in which the Scythians describe themselves and the country beyond them. The Greeks who inhabit Pontus speak of both as follows: Hercules, when he was driving away the heifers of Geryon <sup>11</sup>, came to this region,

now

This from Ovid is more pertinent:

At procures —————

Ruris honorati tantum tibi Cipe dedere

Quantum depresso subjectis bobus aratro

Complecti posses ad finem solis ab ortu.—

See also Seneca:—

Illi ob virtutem et bene gestam rempublicam tantum agri decerneretur, quantum arando uno die circuire potuisset.

<sup>10</sup> *On account of the feathers.*]—It must immediately occur to the reader that these feathers can be nothing else but snow.—*T.*

<sup>11</sup> *Geryon.*]—To this personage the poets assigned three heads and three bodies. Hesiod calls him *τρικεφαλον* and Euripides *τρισηματον*. See also Horace:—

Qui ter amplum

Geryonem, Tityonique tristi

Compefcit undâ.—

Virgil

now inhabited by the Scythians, but which then was a desert. This Geryon lived beyond Pontus, in an island which the Greeks call Erythia, near Gades, which is situate in the ocean, and beyond the columns of Hercules. The ocean, they say, commencing at the east, flows round all the earth<sup>12</sup>; this, however, they affirm without proving it. Hercules coming from thence, arrived at this country, now called Scythia, where, finding himself overtaken by a severe storm, and being exceedingly cold, he wrapped himself up in his lion's skin, and went to sleep. They add, that his mares, which he had detached from his chariot to feed, by some divine interposition disappeared during his sleep.

IX. As soon as he awoke, he wandered over all

Virgil calls him Tergeminus; but the minutest description is found in Silius Italicus, the most satisfactory in Palæphatus de incredibilibus:—

Qualis Atlantiaco memoratur litore quondam  
 Monstrum Geryones immane tricornis iræ,  
 Cui tres in pugna dextræ varia arma gerebant  
 Una ignes sævos, æst altera pone sagittas  
 Fundebat, validam torquebat tertia cornum,  
 Atque uno diversa dabat tria vulnera nifu.—

*Punic. Bell.* 13. 200.

Palæphatus, says he, lived at Tricarenia; and that, being called the Tricarenian Geryon, he was afterwards said to have had three heads.—T.

<sup>12</sup> *Flows round the earth.*]—Upon this passage the following remark occurs in Stillingfleet's *Origin. Sacr.* book i. c. 4.—

It cannot be denied but a great deal of useful history may be fetched out of Herodotus; yet who can excuse his ignorance, when he not only denies there is an ocean compassing the land, but condemns the geographers for asserting it?

the



the country in search of his mares, till at length he came to the district which is called Hylæa: there in a cave he discovered a female of most unnatural appearance, resembling a woman as far as the thighs, but whose lower parts were like a serpent<sup>13</sup>. Hercules beheld her with astonishment, but he was not deterred from asking her whether she had seen his mares? She made answer, that they were in her custody; she refused, however, to restore them, but upon condition of his cohabiting with her. The terms proposed induced Hercules to consent; but she still deferred restoring his mares, from the wish of retaining him longer with her, whilst Hercules was equally anxious to obtain them and depart. After a while she restored them with these words: "Your mares, which wandered here, I have preserved; you have paid what was due to my care, I have conceived by you three sons; I wish you to say how I shall dispose of them hereafter; whether I shall detain them here, where I am the sole sovereign, or whether I shall send them to you." The reply of Hercules was to this effect: "As soon as they shall be grown up to man's estate, observe this, and you cannot err; whichever of them you shall see bend this bow, and wear this belt<sup>14</sup> as I do, him detain in this country:

<sup>13</sup> *Like a serpent.*]—M. Pelloutier calls this monster a syren, but Homer represents the Syrens as very lovely women.

Diodorus Siculus speaks also of this monster, describing it like Herodotus. He makes her the mistress of Jupiter, by whom she had Scythes, who gave his name to the nation.—*Larcher.*

<sup>14</sup> *This belt.*]—It was assigned Hercules as one of his labours by

country: the others, who shall not be able to do this, you may send away. By minding what I say you will have pleasure yourself, and will satisfy my wishes."

X. Having said this, Hercules took one of his bows, for thus far he had carried two, and shewing her also his belt, at the end of which a golden cup was suspended, he gave her them and departed. As soon as the boys of whom she was delivered grew up, she called the eldest Agathyrsus, the second Gelonus, and the youngest Scytha. She remembered also the injunctions she had received; and two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, who were incompetent to the trial which was proposed, were sent away by their mother from this country. Scytha the youngest was successful in his exertions, and remained. From this Scythia, the son of Hercules, the Scythian monarchs are descended; and from the golden cup the Scythians to this day have a cup at the end of their belts.

XI. This is the story which the Greek inhabi-

by Eurystheus, to whom he was subject, to deprive Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons, of her belt. Ausonius, in the inscription which he probably wrote for some ancient relievio, mentions it as the sixth labour.

*Threïciam sexto spoliavit Amazona baltheo.*

This labour is also mentioned thus by Martial:

*Peltatam Scythico discinxit Amazona nodo.*

Whether Herodotus means to speak of this belt I pretend not to determine.—7.

tante



tants of Pontus relate ; but there is also another, to which I am more inclined to assent:—The Scythian Nomades of Asia, having been harassed by the Massagetæ in war, passed the Araxis, and settled in Cimmeria ; for it is to be observed, that the country now possessed by the Scythians belonged formerly to the Cimmerians. This people, when attacked by the Scythians, deliberated what it was most adviseable to do against the inroad of so vast a multitude. Their sentiments were divided ; both were violent, but that of the kings appears preferable. The people were of opinion, that it would be better not to hazard an engagement, but to retreat in security ; the kings were at all events for resisting the enemy. Neither party would recede from their opinions, the people and the princes mutually refusing to yield ; the people wished to retire before the invaders, the princes determined rather to die where they were, reflecting upon what they had enjoyed before, and alarmed by the fears of future calamities. From verbal disputes they soon came to actual engagement, and they happened to be nearly equal in number. All those who perished by the hands of their countrymen were buried by the Cimmerians near the river Tyré, where their monuments may still be seen. The survivors fled from their country, which in its abandoned state was seized and occupied by the Scythians.

XII. There are still to be found in Scythia walls and bridges which are termed Cimmerian ; the same

Same name is also given to a whole district, as well as to a narrow sea. It is certain that when the Cimmerians were expelled their country by the Scythians, they fled to the Asiatic Chersonese, where the Greek city of Sinope<sup>15</sup> is at present situated. It is also apparent, that whilst engaged in the pursuit, the Scythians deviated from their proper course, and entered Media. The Cimmerians in their flight kept uniformly by the sea coast; but the Scythians, having Mount Caucasus to their right, continued the pursuit, till by following an inland direction they entered Media.

XIII. There is still another account, which has obtained credit both with the Greeks and barbarians. Aristeas<sup>16</sup> the poet, a native of Proconnesus, and

<sup>15</sup> *Sinope.*]—There were various opinions amongst the ancients concerning this city. Some said it was built by an Amazon so called; others affirm it was founded by the Milesians; Strabo calls it the most illustrious city of Pontus. It is thus mentioned by Valerius Flaccus, an author not so much read as he deserves.

Affyrios complexa sinus stat opima Sinope  
Nympha prius, blandosque Jovis quæ luserat ignes  
Cœlicolis immota procis.

There was also a celebrated courtesan of this name, from whom Sinopissare became a proverb for being very lascivious.

The modern name of the place is Sinub, and it stands at the mouth of a river called Sinope.—*T.*

<sup>16</sup> *Aristeas.*]—This person is mentioned also by Pliny and Aulus Gellius; it is probable that he lived in the time of Cyrus and Cræsus. Longinus has preserved six of his verses; see chap. 10, of which he remarks, that they are rather florid than sublime.



and son of Cauftrobius, relates, that under the influence of Apollo he came to the Ifsedones, that beyond this people he found the Arimaspi<sup>17</sup>, a nation who have but one eye; farther on the Gryphins<sup>18</sup>, the guardians of the gold; and beyond these the Hyperboreans<sup>19</sup>, who possess the whole country quite

sublime. Tzetzes has preserved six more. The account given of him by Herodotus is far from satisfactory.

<sup>17</sup> *Arimaspi.*]—The Arimaspians were Hyperborean Cyclopeans, and had temples named Charis or Charisia, in the top of which were preserved a perpetual fire. They were of the same family as those of Sicily, and had the same rites, and particularly worshipped the Ophite deity under the name of Opis. Aristæas Proconnesius wrote their history, and among other things mentioned that they had but one eye, which was placed in their graceful forehead. How could the front of a Cyclopean, one of the most hideous monsters that ever poetic fancy framed, be styled graceful? The whole is a mistake of terms, and what this writer had misapplied related to Charis a tower, and the eye was a casement in the top of the edifice, where a light and fire were kept up.—*Bryant.*

<sup>18</sup> *Gryphins.*]—

Thus the Gryphins,  
Those dumb and ravenous dogs of Jove, avoid  
The Arimaspien troops, whose frowning foreheads  
Glare with one blazing eye: along the banks  
Where Pluto rolls his streams of gold, they rein  
Their foaming steeds.

*Prometheus Vinctus. Æschyl. Potter's Translation.*

Pausanias tell us, that the Gryphins are represented by Aristæas as monsters resembling lions, with the beaks and wings of eagles. By the way, Dionysius of Halicarnassus is of opinion that no such poem as this of Aristæas ever existed.—*T.*

<sup>19</sup> *Hyperboreans.*]—The ancients do not appear to have had any precise ideas of the country of this people. The Hyperbo-

quite to the sea, and that all these nations, except the Hyperboreans, are continually engaged in war with their neighbours. Of these hostilities the Arimaspians were the first authors, for that they drove out the Issedones, the Issedones the Scythians: the Scythians compelled the Cimmerians, who possessed the country towards the south, to abandon their native land. Thus it appears, that the narrative of Aristeas differs also from that of the Scythians.

XIV. Of what country the relater of the above account was, we have already seen; but I ought not to omit what I have heard of this personage, both at Proconnesus and Cyzicus<sup>20</sup>. It is said of this Aristeas, that he was of one of the best families of his country, and that he died in the workshop of a fuller, into which he had accidentally gone. The fuller immediately secured his shop, and went to in-

rean mountains are also frequently mentioned, which, as appears from Virgil, were the same as the Ryphean:

Talis Hyperboreo septem subiecta trioni  
Gens effræna virum Rhipæo tunditur Euro  
Et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora fatis. T.

<sup>20</sup> *Cyzicus*.]—This was one of the most flourishing cities of Mysia, situate in a small island of the Propontis, and built by the Milesians. It is thus mentioned by Ovid:

Inde Propontiacis hærentem Cyzicon oris  
Cyzicon Æmonia nobile gentis opus.

The people of this place were remarkable for their effeminacy and cowardice, whence *tinctura Cyzicena* became proverbial for any dastardly character. It has now become a peninsula, by the filling up of the small channel by which it was divided from the continent.—T.



form the relations of the deceased of what had happened. The report having circulated through the city, that Aristeas was dead, there came a man of Cyzicus, of the city of Artaces, who affirmed that this assertion was false, for that he had met Aristeas going to Cyzicus<sup>21</sup>, and had spoken with him. In consequence of his positive assertions, the friends of Aristeas hastened to the fuller's shop with every thing which was necessary for his funeral, but when they came there, no Aristeas was to be found, alive or dead. Seven years afterwards it is said that he re-appeared at Proconnesus, and composed those verses which the Greeks call Arimasian, after which he vanished a second time.

XV. This is the manner in which these cities speak of Aristeas: but I am about to relate a circumstance which to my own knowledge happened to the Metapontines of Italy, three hundred and forty years after Aristeas had a second time disappeared, according to my conjecture, as it agrees with what I heard at Proconnesus and Metapontus. The inhabitants of this latter place affirm, that Aristeas having appeared in their city, directed them to construct an altar to Apollo, and near it a

<sup>21</sup> *Going to Cyzicus.*]—Upon this story Larcher remarks, that there are innumerable others like it, both among the ancients and moderns. A very ridiculous one is related by Plutarch, in his Life of Romulus:—A man named Cleomedes, seeing himself pursued, jumped into a great chest, which closed upon him: after many ineffectual attempts to open it, they broke it in pieces, but no Cleomedes was to be found, alive or dead.—T.

statue to Aristeas of Proconnesus. He told them that they were the only people of Italy whom Apollo had ever honoured by his presence, and that he himself had attended the god under the form of a crow<sup>22</sup>: having said this he disappeared. The Metapontines relate, that in consequence of this they sent to Delphi, to enquire what that unnatural appearance might mean; the Pythian told them in reply, to perform what had been directed, for that they would find their obedience rewarded; they obeyed accordingly, and there now stands near the statue of Apollo himself, another bearing the name of Aristeas: it is placed in the public square of the city, surrounded with laurels.

XVI. Thus much of Aristeas.—No certain knowledge is to be obtained of the places which lie remotely beyond the country of which I before spake: on this subject I could not meet with any person able to speak from his own knowledge. Aristeas above-mentioned confesses, in the poem which he wrote, that he did not penetrate beyond the Iffe-

<sup>22</sup> *Under the form of a crow.*]—Pliny relates this somewhat differently. He says, it was the soul of Aristeas, which having left his body appeared in the form of a crow. His words are these: Aristeæ etiam visam evolantem ex ore in Proconneso, corvi effigie magna quæ sequitur fabulositate.—*Larcher.*

The crow was sacred to Apollo, as appears from *Ælian de Animalibus*, book vii. 18. We learn also from *Scañger*, in his *Notes on Manilius*, that a crow sitting on a tripod was found on some ancient coins, to which *Statius* also alludes in the following line:

Non comes obscurus tripodum.

7.

O 2

donec ;



done; and that what he related of the countries more remote he learned of the Iffedones themselves. For my own part, all the intelligence which the most assiduous researches, and the greatest attention to authenticity have been able to procure, shall be faithfully related.

XVII. As we advance from the port of the Borysthenites, which is unquestionably the centre of all the maritime parts of Scythia, the first people who are met with are the Callipidæ<sup>23</sup>, who are Greek Scythians: beyond these is another nation, called the Halizones<sup>24</sup>. These two people in general observe the customs of the Scythians, except that for food they sow corn, onions, garlick, lentils, and millet. Beyond the Halizones dwell some *Scythian husbandmen*, who sow corn not to eat, but for sale. Still more remote are the Neuri<sup>25</sup>, whose country towards the north, as far as I have been able to learn, is totally uninhabited. All these nations dwell near the river Hypanis, to the west of the Borysthenes.

XVIII. Having crossed the Borysthenes, the first

<sup>23</sup> *Callipidæ*.]—Solinus calls these people Callipodes.—T.

<sup>24</sup> *Halizones*.]—So called because surrounded on all sides by the sea, as the word itself obviously testifies.—T.

<sup>25</sup> *Neuri*.]—Mela, book ii. 1, says of this people, that they had the power of transforming themselves into wolves, and resuming their former shape at pleasure.—Neuris statum singulis tempus est, quo si velint in lupos, iterumque in eos qui fuere mutantur.—T.

country towards the sea is Hylæa, contiguous to which are some Scythian husbandmen, who call themselves Olbiopolitæ, but who, by the Greeks living near the Hypanis, are called Borysthenites<sup>26</sup>. The country possessed by these Scythians towards the east is the space of a three days journey, as far as the river Panticapes; to the north, their lands extend to the amount of an eleven days voyage along the Borysthenes. The space beyond this is a vast inhospitable desert; and remoter still are the Androphagi, or men-eaters, a separate nation, and by no means Scythian. As we pass farther from these, the country is altogether desert, not containing, to our knowledge, any inhabitants.

XIX. To the east of these Scythians, who are husbandmen, and beyond the river Panticapes, are the Scythian Nomades or shepherds, who are totally unacquainted with agriculture: except Hylæa, all this country is naked of trees. These Nomades inhabit a district to the extent of a fourteen days journey towards the east, as far as the river Gerrhus.

XX. Beyond the Gerrhus is situate what is termed the royal province of Scythia, possessed by the more numerous part and the noblest of the Scythians, who consider all the rest of their countrymen

<sup>26</sup> *Borysthenites*.]—These people are called by Propertius the Borysthenidæ:

Gloria ad hybernos lata Borysthenidas. T.



as their slaves. From the south they extend to Tauris, and from the east as far as the trench which was sunk by the descendants of the blinded slaves, and again as far as the port of the Palus Mœotis, called Chemni, and indeed many of them are spread as far as the Tanais. Beyond these, to the north, live the Melanchlæni, another nation who are not Scythians. Beyond the Melanchlæni the lands are low and marshy, and as we believe entirely uninhabited.

XXI. Beyond the Tanais the region of Scythia terminates, and the first nation we meet with are the Sauromatæ, who, commencing at the remote parts of the Palus Mœotis, inhabit a space to the north, equal to a fifteen days journey; the country is totally destitute of trees, both wild and cultivated. Beyond these are the Budini, who are husbandmen, and in whose country trees are found in great abundance.

XXII. To the north, beyond the Budini, is an immense desert of an eight days journey; passing which to the east are the Thyssagetæ, a singular but populous nation, who support themselves by hunting. Contiguous to these, in the same region, are a people called Iyræ<sup>27</sup>; they also live by the chase,  
which

<sup>27</sup> *Iyræ.*]—It is in vain that Messieurs Falconnet and Mallet are desirous of reading here Τυρκοί, the Turks, the same as it occurs in Pomponius Mela; it would be better, with Pintianus,

which they thus pursue :—Having ascended the tops of the trees, which every where abound, they watch for their prey. Each man has a horse, instructed to lie close to the ground, that it may not be seen; they have each also a dog. As soon as the man from the tree discovers his game, he wounds it with an arrow, then mounting his horse he pursues it, followed by his dog. Advancing from this people still nearer to the east, we again meet with Scythians, who having seceded from the Royal Scythians, established themselves here.

XXIII. As far as these Scythians the whole country is flat, and the soil excellent; beyond them it becomes barren and stony. After travelling over a considerable space, a people are found living at the foot of some lofty mountains, who, both male and female, are said to be bald from their birth, having large chins, and nostrils like the ape species. They have a language of their own, but their dress is Scythian; they live chiefly upon the produce of a tree which is called the ponticus, it is as large as a fig, and has a kernel not unlike a bean: when it is ripe they press it through a cloth, it produces a thick black liquor which they call aschy, this they drink, mixing it with milk; the grosser parts which remain they form into balls and eat. They have but few cattle, from the want of proper pasturage. Each man dwells under his tree; this

to correct the text of the geographer by that of Herodotus. Pliny also joins this people with the Thyssagetæ.—*Larcher*.



during the winter they cover with a thick white cloth, which in the summer is removed; they live unmolested by any one, being considered as sacred, and having amongst them no offensive weapon. Their neighbours apply to them for decision in matters of private controversy; and whoever seeks an asylum amongst them is secure from injury. They are called the Argippæi<sup>28</sup>.

XXIV. As far as these people who are bald, the knowledge of the country and intermediate nations is clear and satisfactory; it may be obtained from the Scythians, who have frequent communication with them, from the Greeks of the port on the Borysthenes, and from many other places of trade on the Euxine. As these nations have seven different languages, the Scythians who communicate with them have occasion for as many interpreters.

XXV. Beyond these Argippæi, no certain intelligence is to be had, a chain of lofty and inaccessible mountains precluding all discovery. The people who are bald assert, what I can by no means believe, that these mountains are inhabited

<sup>28</sup> *Argippæi.*]—These people are said to have derived their name from the white horses with which their country abounded. The Tartars of the present day are said to hold white horses in great estimation; how much they were esteemed in ancient times, appears from various passages of different writers, who believed that they excelled in swiftness all horses of a different colour.

Qui candore nives antecirent, cursibus auras. T.

by

by men, who in their lower parts resemble a goat; and that beyond these are a race who sleep away six months of the year: neither does this seem at all more probable. To the east of the Argippæi it is beyond all doubt that the country is possessed by the Issedones; but beyond them to the north neither the Issedones nor the Argippæi know any thing more than I have already related.

XXVI. The Issedones have these among other customs:—As often as any one loses his father, his relations severally provide some cattle; these they kill, and having cut them in pieces, they dismember also the body of the deceased, and, mixing the whole together, feast upon it; the head alone is preserved, from this they carefully remove the hair, and cleansing it thoroughly set it in gold<sup>29</sup>: it is afterwards esteemed sacred, and produced in their solemn annual sacrifices. Every man observes the above rites in honour of his father, as the Greeks do theirs in memory of the dead<sup>30</sup>. In other respects

<sup>29</sup> *Set it in gold.*]—We learn from Livy, that the Boii, a people of Gaul, did exactly the same with respect to the skulls of their enemies.—*Purgato inde capite ut mos iis est, calvam auro cælare: idque sacrum vas iis erat, quo solemnibus libarent.*—*See Livy, chap. xxiv. book 23.*

<sup>30</sup> *In memory of the dead.*]—The Greeks had anniversary days in remembrance of departed friends. These were indifferently termed ΝΕΜΕΣΙΑ, as being solemnized on the festival of Nemesis, ΩΓΕΙΑ, and ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ. This latter word seems to intimate that these were feasts instituted to commemorate the birth-days; but these, it appears, were observed by surviving relations and friends upon  
the



spects it is said that they venerate the principles of justice; and that their females enjoy equal authority with the men.

XXVII. The Issedones themselves affirm, that the country beyond them is inhabited by a race of men who have but one eye, and by Gryphins who  
are

the anniversary of a person's death. Amongst many other customs which distinguished these Γενεσια, some were remarkable for their simplicity and elegance. They strewed flowers on the tomb, they encircled it with myrtle, they placed locks of their hair upon it, they tenderly invoked the names of those departed, and lastly they poured sweet ointments upon the grave.

These observances, with little variation, took place both in Greece and Rome.—See the beautiful Ode of Anacreon:

Τὶ σε δὲ λίθον μυρίζειν  
Τὶ δὲ γῆ χρεῖν ματαία;  
Εμὲ μάλλον, ὡς ἐστὶ ζῶ  
Μυρίσων, ῥοδοῖς δὲ κῆῤῥα  
Πυκᾶσον.

Thus rendered by Cowley:

Why do we precious ointments show'r,  
Noble wines why do we pour,  
Beauteous flowers why do we spread  
Upon the mon'uments of the dead?  
Nothing they but dust can shew,  
Or bones that hasten to be so;  
Crown me with roses whilst I live.

See also the much-admired apostrophe addressed by Virgil to the memory of Marcellus:

Heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,  
Tu Marcellus eris: manibus date lilia plenis,  
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis  
His saltem accumulem donis. T.

See

are guardians of the gold.—Such is the information which the Scythians have from the Issedones, and we from the Scythians; in the Scythian tongue they are called Arimaspians, from Arima, the Scythian word for one, and spu, an eye.

XXVIII. Through all the region of which we have been speaking, the winter season, which continues for eight months, is intolerably severe and cold. At this time if water be poured upon the ground, unless it be near a fire, it will not make clay. The sea itself<sup>31</sup>, and all the Cimmerian Bosphorus, is congealed; and the Scythians who live within the trench before mentioned make hostile incursions upon the ice, and penetrate with their waggons as far as India. During eight months the climate is thus severe, and the remaining four are sufficiently cold. In this region the winter is by no

<sup>31</sup> *The sea itself.*]—The Greeks, who had no knowledge of this country, were of opinion that the sea could not be congealed; they consequently considered this passage of Herodotus as fabulous. The moderns, who are better acquainted with the regions of the north, well know that Herodotus was right.—*Larcher.*

Upon this subject the following whimsical passage occurs in Macrobius.—*Nam quod Herodotus historiarum scriptor, contra omnium ferme qui hæc quæfiverunt, opinionem scripsit, mare Bosporicum, quod et Cimmerium appellat, earumque partium mare omne quod Scythicum dicitur, id gelu constringi et consistere, aliter est quam putatur; nam non marina aqua contrahitur, sed quia plurimum in illis regionibus fluviorum est, et paludum in ipsa maria influentium, superficies maris cui dulces aquæ innatant, congelascit, et incolumi aqua marina videtur in mari gelu, sed de advenis undis coactum, &c.*

means



means the same as in other climates; for at this time, when it rains abundantly elsewhere, it here scarcely rains at all, whilst in the summer the rains are incessant. At the season when thunder is common in other places, here it is never heard, but during the summer it is very heavy. If it be ever known to thunder in the winter, it is considered as ominous. If earthquakes happen in Scythia, in either season of the year, it is thought a prodigy. Their horses are able to bear the extremest severity of the climate, which the asses and mules frequently cannot<sup>32</sup>; though in other regions the cold which destroys the former has little effect upon the latter.

XXIX. This circumstance of their climate seems to explain the reason why their cattle are without horns<sup>33</sup>; and Homer in the *Odyssey* has a line

<sup>32</sup> *Asses and mules frequently cannot.*]—This assertion of Herodotus is confirmed by Pliny, who says, “Ipsum animal (asinus) frigoris maxime impatiens: ideo non generatur in Ponto, nec æquinoctis verno, etcætera pecua admittitur sed solstitio.” The ass is a native of Arabia; the warmer the climate in which they are produced, the larger and the better they are. “Their size and their spirit,” says Mr. Pennant, “regularly decline as they advance into colder regions.” Hollingshed says, that in his time “our lande did yeelde no asses.” At present they appear to be naturalized in our country; and M. Larcher’s observation, that they are not common in England, must have arisen from misinformation. That the English breed of asses is comparatively less beautiful must be acknowledged.—*T.*

<sup>33</sup> *Without horns.*]—Hippocrates, speaking of the Scythian chariots, says, they are drawn by oxen which have no horns, and that the cold prevents their having any.—*Larcher.*

which

which confirms my opinion :—" And Libya, where the sheep have always horns <sup>34</sup> ;" which is as much as to say, that in warm climates horns will readily grow ; but in places which are extremely cold they either will not grow at all, or are always diminutive.

XXX. The peculiarities of Scythia are thus explained from the coldness of the climate ; but as I have accustomed myself from the commencement of this history to deviate occasionally from my subject, I cannot here avoid expressing my surprize, that the district of Elis never produces mules ; yet the air is by no means cold, nor can any other satisfactory reason be assigned. The inhabitants themselves believe that their not possessing mules is the effect of some curse <sup>35</sup>. When their mares require the

<sup>34</sup> *Always horns.*]—The line here quoted from Homer is thus rendered by Pope :

And two fair crescents of translucent horn  
The brows of all their young increase adorn. T.

<sup>35</sup> *Of some curse.*]—The following passage is found in Plutarch's Greek questions.

Q. Why do the men of Elis lead their mares beyond their borders when they would have them covered ?

A. Was it because Ænomaus, being remarkable for his great love of horses, imprecated many horrid curses upon mares that should be (thus) covered in Elis, and that the people in terror of his curses will not suffer it to be done within their district ?

It is indisputably evident, that something is omitted or corrupted in this passage of Plutarch. As it stands at present it appears that the mares were to be covered by horses, and so the



The male, the Eleans take them out of the limits of their own territories, and there suffer asses to cover them; when they have conceived they return.

### XXXI. Concerning those feathers, which, as the

the translators have rendered it; but the love of Ænomaus for horses, would hardly lead him to so absurd an inconsistency as that of cursing the breed of them within his kingdom. The truth is, it was the breed of mules which he loaded with imprecations; and it was only when the mares were to be covered by asses, that it was necessary to remove them, to avoid falling under his curse. Some word expressing this ought therefore to be found in Plutarch, and the suspicion of corruption naturally falls at once on the unintelligible word ἐνόδας, which is totally omitted in the Latin version, and given up by Xylander as inexplicable; Wesseling would change it to ἐνόδους, but that does not remove the fault: if we read ἐνοδόκους, all will be easy. The question will then stand thus: "Why do the men of Elis lead those mares *which are to receive asses*, beyond their borders to be covered?" And we must render afterwards, "that should be *thus* covered," instead of *covered* only: ἐνοδόκος, being a compound formed at pleasure, according to the genius of the Greek language, but not in common use, might easily be corrupted by a careless or ignorant transcriber. I should not have dwelt so long on a verbal criticism of this kind, had not the emendation appeared important, and calculated to throw additional light on this passage of Herodotus.

Conformable to this is the account of Pausanias:—"In Elis," says he, "mares will not produce from asses, though they will in the places contiguous: this the people impute to some curse." book v. p. 384.—*Kuhn's Edition.*

And Eustathius has a similar remark in his Comment on Dionysius, l. 409.

Upon the above Larcher remarks, that this doubtless was the reason why the race of chariots drawn by mules was abolished at the Olympic games, which had been introduced there in the seventieth Olympiad by Therias of Thessaly.—*T.*

Scythians say, so cloud the atmosphere that they cannot penetrate nor even discern what lies beyond them, my opinion is this :—In those remoter regions there is a perpetual fall of snow, which, as may be supposed, is less in summer than in winter. Whoever observes snow falling continually, will easily conceive what I say ; for it has a great resemblance to feathers. These regions, therefore, which are thus situated remotely to the north, are uninhabitable from the unremitting severity of the climate ; and the Scythians, with the neighbouring nations, mistake the snow for feathers <sup>36</sup>.—But on this subject I have said quite enough.

XXXII. Of the Hyperboreans <sup>37</sup> neither the Scythians nor any of the neighbouring people, the Issedones alone excepted, have any knowledge ; and indeed what they say merits but little attention. The Scythians speak of these as they do of the Arimaspians. It must be confessed that Hesiod

<sup>36</sup> *Snow for feathers.*]—The comparison of falling snow to fleeces of wool, as being very obvious and natural, is found in abundance of writers, ancient and modern.

See Psalm cxlvii. ver. 5.—Who sendeth his snow like wool. Martial beautifully calls snow *densum tacitarum vellus aquarum*.

In whose capacious womb  
A vapoury deluge lies to snow congeal'd ;  
Heavy they roll their fleecy world along.—*Thomson*.

<sup>37</sup> *Hyperboreans.*]—It appears from the Scholiast on Pindar, that the Greeks called the Thracians Boreans ; there is therefore great probability that they called the people beyond these the Hyperboreans.—*Larcher*.

mentions



mentions these Hyperboreans, as does Homer also in the *Epigoni* <sup>38</sup>, if he was really the author of those verses.

XXXIII. On this subject of the Hyperboreans the Delians are more communicative. They affirm, that some sacred offerings of this people, carefully folded in straw, were given to the Scythians, from whom descending regularly through every contiguous nation <sup>39</sup>, they arrived at length at the Adriatic. From hence, transported towards the south, they were first of all received by the Dodonæans of Greece; from them again they were transmitted to the gulph of Melis; whence passing into Eubœa, they were sent from one town to another, till they arrived at Carystus; not stopping at Andros,

<sup>38</sup> *Epigoni*.]—That Homer was the author of various poems besides the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, there seems little reason to doubt; that he was the author of these in question can hardly be made appear. The Scholiast of Aristophanes assigns them to Antimachus; but Antimachus of Colophon was later than Herodotus, or at least his cotemporary. The subject of these verses were the supposed authors of the second Theban war. At the time in which Homer flourished, the wars of Thebes and of Troy were the subjects of universal curiosity and attention.—7.

<sup>39</sup> *Through every contiguous nation*.]—On this subject the Athenians have another tradition.—See *Pausanias*, c. xxxi. p. 77.

According to them, these offerings were given by the Hyperboreans to the Arimaspians, by the Arimaspians to the Scythians, by the Scythians carried to Sinope. The Greeks from thence passed them from one to another, till they arrived at Prasîs, a place dependant on Athens; the Athenians ultimately sent them to Delos. “This,” says M. Larcher, “seems to me a less probable account than that of the Delians.”

the

the Carystians carried them to Tenos, the Tenians to Delos; at which place the Delians affirm they came as we have related. They farther observe, that to bring these offerings the Hyperboreans<sup>40</sup> sent two young women, whose names were Hyperoche and Laodice: five of their countrymen accompanied them as a guard, who are held in great veneration at Delos, and called the Peripheres<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> *Hyperboreans.*]—Upon the subject of the Hyperboreans, our learned mythologist Mr. Bryant has a very curious chapter. The reader will do well to consult the whole; but the following extract is particularly applicable to the chapter before us.

Of all other people the Hyperboreans seem most to have respected the people of Delos. To this island they used to send continually mystic presents, which were greatly revered: in consequence of this, the Delians knew more of their history than any other community of Greece. Callimachus, in his hymn to Delos, takes notice both of the Hyperboreans and their offerings.

This people were esteemed very sacred; and it is said that Apollo, when exiled from heaven, and had seen his offspring slain, retired to their country. It seems he wept; and there was a tradition that every tear was amber.

See Apollonius Rhodius, book iv. 611.

The Celtic sages a tradition hold,  
That every drop of amber was a tear  
Shed by Apollo, when he fled from heaven;  
For sorely did he weep, and sorrowing pass'd  
Thro' many a doleful region, till he reach'd  
The sacred Hyperboreans.

See Bryant, vol. iii. 491.

<sup>41</sup> *Peripheres.*]—Those whom the different states of Greece sent to consult Apollo, or to offer him sacrifice in the name of their country, they called Theoroi. They gave the name of Deliastoi to those whom they sent to Delos; and of Pythastoi to those who went to Delphi.—*Larcher.*



As these men never returned, the Hyperboreans were greatly offended, and took the following method to prevent a repetition of this evil:—They carried to their frontiers their offerings, folded in barley-straw, and committing them to the care of their neighbours, directed them to forward them progressively, till, as is reported, they thus arrived at Delos. This singularity observed by the Hyperboreans is practised, as I myself have seen, amongst the women of Thrace and Pæonia, who in their sacrifices to the regal Diana make use of barley-straw.

XXXIV. In honour of the Hyperborean virgins who died at Delos, the Delian youth of both sexes celebrate certain rites, in which they cut off their hair<sup>42</sup>; this ceremony is observed by virgins previous to their marriage, who, having deprived themselves of their hair, wind it round a spindle, and place it on the tomb. This stands in the

<sup>42</sup> *Cut off their hair.*]—The custom of offering the hair to the gods is of very great antiquity. Sometimes it was deposited in the temples, as in the case of Berenice, who consecrated hers in the temple of Venus; sometimes it was suspended upon trees.—*Larcher.*

When the hair was cut off in honour of the dead, it was done in a circular form. Allusion is made to this ceremony in the *Electra* of Sophocles, line 52. See also Ovid:

*Scissæ cum veste capillos.*

This custom, by the way, was strictly forbidden by the Jews. Pope has a very ludicrous allusion to it:—

When fortune or a mistress frowns,  
Some plunge in business, others shave their crowns.—*T.*

vestibule

vestibule of the temple of Diana, on the left-side of the entrance, and is shaded by an olive, which grows there naturally. The young men of Delos wind some of their hair round a certain herb, and place it on the tomb.—Such are the honours which the Delians pay to these virgins.

XXXV. The Delians add, that in the same age, and before the arrival of Hyperoche and Laodice at Delos, two other Hyperborean virgins came there, whose names were Argis and Opis<sup>43</sup>; their object was to bring an offering to Lucina, in acknowledgment of the happy delivery of their females; but that Argis and Opis were accompanied by the deities themselves. They are, therefore, honoured with other solemn rites. The women assemble together, and in a hymn composed for the occasion by Olen of Lycia<sup>44</sup>, they call on the names of Argis and Opis. Instructed by these  
the

<sup>43</sup> *Opis.*]—Orion, who was beloved by Aurora, and whom Pherecydes asserts to have been the son of Neptune and Euryale, or, according to other authors, of Terra, endeavouring to offer violence to Opis, was slain with an arrow by Diana.

The first Hyperboreans who carried offerings to Delos were, according to Callimachus, named Oupis, Loxo, and Hecæerge, daughter of Boreas.—*Larcher.*

Opis is thus mentioned by Virgil:

Opis ad Ætherium pennis aufertur Olympum.

According to Servius, Opis, Loxo, and Hecæerge, were synonymous terms for the moon. Opis was also the name of a city on the Tigris.—*T.*

<sup>44</sup> *Olen of Lycia.*]—Olen, a priest and very ancient poet, was before Homer; he was the first Greek poet, and the first also



the islanders and Ionians hold similar assemblies, introducing the same two names in their hymns. This Olen was a native of Lycia, who composed other ancient hymns in use at Delos. When the thighs of the victims are consumed on the altar, the ashes are collected and scattered over the tomb of Opis and Argis. This tomb is behind the temple of Diana, facing the east, and near the place where the Ceians celebrate their festivals.

XXXVI. On this subject of the Hyperboreans we have spoken sufficiently at large, for the story of Abaris<sup>45</sup>, who was said to be an Hyperborean, and to have made a circuit of the earth without

who declared the oracles of Apollo. The inhabitants of Delphi chaunted the hymns which he composed for them. In one of his hymns he called Ilithya the mother of Love; in another he affirmed that Juno was educated by the Hours, and was the mother of Mars and Hebe.—*Larcher*.

The word Olen was properly an Ægyptian sacred term, and expressed Olen, Olenus, Ailinus, and Linus, but is of unknown meaning. We read of Olenium fidus, Olenia capella, and the like.

Nascitur Oleniæ fidus pluviale capellæ.—*Ovid*.

A sacred stone in Elis was called Petra Olenia. If then this Olen, styled an Hyperborean, came from Lycia and Ægypt, it makes me persuaded of what I have often suspected, that the term Hyperborean is not of that purport which the Grecians have assigned to it. There were people of this family from the north, and the name has been distorted, and adapted solely to people of those parts. But there were Hyperboreans from the east, as we find in the history of Olen.—See Bryant farther on this subject, vol. iii. 492-3.

<sup>45</sup> *Abaris*.]—Jamblicus says of this Abaris, that he was the  
disciple

out food, and carried on an arrow <sup>46</sup>, merits no attention. As there are Hyperboreans, or inhabitants of the extreme parts of the north, one would suppose there ought also to be Hypernotians, or inhabitants of the corresponding parts of the south. For my own part I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear some men talk of the circumference of the earth, pretending, without the smallest reason or probability, that the ocean encompasses the earth; that the earth is round, as if mechanically formed so; and that Asia is equal to Europe. I will, therefore, concisely describe the figure and the size of each of these portions of the earth.

XXXVII. The region occupied by the Persians extends southward to the Red Sea; beyond these to the north are the Medes, next to them are the Sapirians. Contiguous to the Sapirians, and where the Phasis empties itself into the Northern Sea, are the Colchians. These four nations occupy the space between the two seas.

disciple of Pythagoras; some say he was older than Solon; he foretold earthquakes, plagues, &c. Authors differ much as to the time of his coming into Greece: Harpocration says it was in the time of Cræsus.—T.

<sup>46</sup> *On an arrow.*]—There is a fragment preserved in the *Anecdota Græca*, a translation of which Larcher gives in his notes, which throws much light upon this singular passage; it is this: a famine having made its appearance amongst the Hyperboreans, Abaris went to Greece, and entered into the service of Apollo. The deity taught him to declare oracles. In consequence of this, he travelled through Greece, declaring oracles, having in his hand an arrow, the symbol of Apollo.—T.



XXXVIII. From hence to the west two tracts of land stretch themselves towards the sea, which I shall describe: The one on the north side commences at the Phasis, and extends to the sea along the Euxine and the Hellespont, as far as the Sigeum of Troy. On the south side it begins at the Marandynian bay, contiguous to Phœnicia, and is continued to the sea as far the Triopian promontory; this space of country is inhabited by thirty different nations.

XXXIX. The other district commences in Persia, and is continued to the Red Sea <sup>47</sup>. Besides Persia, it comprehends Assyria and Arabia, naturally terminating in the Arabian Gulph, into which Darius introduced <sup>48</sup> a channel of the Nile. The interval from Persia to Phœnicia is very extensive. From Phœnicia it again continues beyond Syria of Palestine, as far as Ægypt, where it terminates.

<sup>47</sup> *The Red Sea.*]—It is necessary to be observed, that not only the Arabian Gulph was known by this name, but also the Persian Gulph and the Southern Ocean, that is to say, that vast tract of sea which lies between the two gulphs.—*Larcker.*

What Herodotus calls the Erythrean Sea, he carefully distinguishes from the Arabian Gulph.

Both Herodotus and Agathemenus industriously distinguish the Erythrean Sea from the Arabian Gulph, though the latter was certainly so called, and had the name of Erythrean. The Parthic empire, which included Persis, is by Pliny said to be bounded to the south by the Mare Rubrum, which was the boundary also of the Persians: by Mare Rubrum he here means the great southern sea.—*Bryant.*

<sup>48</sup> *Darius introduced.*]—See book the second, chap. 158.

The

The whole of this region is occupied by three nations only.—Such is the division of Asia from Persia westward.

XL. To the east beyond Persia, Media, the Sapinians and Colchians, the country is bounded by the Red Sea; to the north by the Caspian and the river Araxes, which directs its course towards the east. As far as India, Asia is well inhabited; but from India eastward the whole country is one vast desert, unknown and unexplored.

XLI. The second tract comprehends Libya, which begins where Ægypt ends. About Ægypt the country is very narrow. One hundred thousand orgyæ, or one thousand stadia, comprehend the space between this and the Red Sea<sup>49</sup>. Here the country expands, and takes the name of Libya.

XLII. I am much surprized at those who have divided and defined the limits of Libya, Asia, and Europe, betwixt which the difference is far from small. Europe, for instance, in length much exceeds the other two, but is of far inferior breadth;

<sup>49</sup> *This and the Red Sea.*]—Here we must necessarily understand the isthmus between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulph or Red Sea. Herodotus says, book ii. chap. 158, that the shortest way betwixt one sea and the other was one thousand stadia. Agrippa says, on the authority of Pliny, that from Pelusium to Arsinœ on the Red Sea was one hundred and twenty-five miles, which comes to the same thing, that author always reckoning eight stadia to a mile.—*Larcher.*



except in that particular part which is contiguous to Asia, the whole of Africa is furrounded by the sea. The first person who has proved this, was, as far as we are able to judge, Necho king of Ægypt. When he had desisted from his attempt to join by a canal the Nile with the Arabian Gulph, he dispatched some vessels<sup>50</sup>, under the conduct of Phœnicians, with directions to pass by the columns of Hercules, and after penetrating the Northern Ocean to return to Ægypt. These Phœnicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean: on the approach of autumn they landed in Libya, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves; when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again

<sup>50</sup> *Dispatched some vessels.*]—This Necho is the same who in scripture is called Pharaoh Necho. He made an attempt to join the Nile and the Red Sea, by drawing a canal from the one to the other; but after he had consumed an hundred and twenty thousand men in the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better success in another undertaking; for having gotten some of the expertest Phœnician sailors into his service, he sent them out by the Red Sea, through the straits of Babelmandel, to discover the coasts of Africa, who having sailed round it came home the third year through the straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in those days, when the use of the loadstone was not known. This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before Vaquez de Gama, a Portuguese, by discovering the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, found out the same way from hence to the Indies by which these Phœnicians came from thence. Since that it hath been made the common passage thither from all these western parts of the world.—*Pri. deaux.*

departed.

departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the third doubled the columns of Hercules, and returned to Ægypt. Their relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible<sup>51</sup>, for they affirmed, that having sailed round Africa, they had the sun on their right hand.—Thus was Africa for the first time known.

XLIII. If the Carthaginian account may be credited, Sataſpes, ſon of Teaspes, of the race of the Achæmenides, received a commiſſion to circumnavigate Africa, which he never executed: alarmed by the length of the voyage, and the ſolitary appearance of the country, he returned without accompliſhing the taſk enjoined him by his mother. This man had committed violence on a virgin, daughter of Zopyrus, ſon of Megabyzus, for which offence Xerxes had ordered him to be crucified; but the influence of his mother, who was ſiſter to Darius, ſaved his life. She avowed, however, that it was her intention to inflict a ſtill ſeverer puniſhment upon him, by obliging him to ſail round Africa, till he ſhould arrive at the Ara-

<sup>51</sup> *To me it ſeems incredible.*]—Herodotus does not doubt that the Phœnicians made the circuit of Africa, and returned to Ægypt by the ſtraits of Gibraltar; but he could not believe that in the courſe of the voyage they had the ſun on their right hand. This, however, muſt neceſſarily have been the caſe after the Phœnicians had paſſed the line; and this curious circumſtance, which never could have been imagined in an age when aſtro-nomy was yet in its infancy, is an evidence to the truth of a voyage, which without this might have been doubted.—*Larcher,*



bian Gulph. To this Xerxes assented, and Sataſpes accordingly departed for Ægypt; he here embarked with his crew, and proceeded to the columns of Hercules; passing these, he doubled the promontory which is called Syloes, keeping a southern course. Continuing his voyage for several months, in which he passed over an immense tract of sea, he saw no probable termination of his labours, and therefore sailed back to Ægypt. Returning to the court of Xerxes, he amongst other things related, that in the most remote places he had visited he had seen a people of diminutive appearance, cloathed in red garments <sup>52</sup>, who on the approach of his vessel

<sup>52</sup> *Red garments.*]—This passage has been indifferently rendered Phœnician garments and red garments; the original is *ισθητι φοινικιν*.—Larcher, dissenting from both these, translates it “des habits de palmier:” his reasoning upon it does not appear quite satisfactory. “It seems very suspicious,” says he, “that people so savage as these are described by Herodotus, should either have cloth or stuff, or if they had should possess the means of dying it red.” But in the first place, Herodotus does not call these a savage people; and in the next, the narrative of Sataſpes was intended to excite astonishment, by representing to Xerxes what to him at least seemed marvellous. That a race of uncivilized men should cloath themselves with skins, or garments made of the leaves or bark of trees, could not appear wonderful to a subject of Xerxes, to whom many barbarous nations were perfectly well known. His surprize would be much more powerfully excited, at seeing a race of men of whom they had no knowledge, habited like the members of a civilized society; add to this, that granting them to be what they are not here represented, Barbarians, they might still have in their country some natural or prepared substances, communicative of different colours. I therefore accede to the interpretation of *rubrâ utentes veste*,

vessel to the shore, had deserted their habitations, and fled to the mountains. But he affirmed, that his people, satisfied with taking a supply of provisions, offered them no violence. He denied the possibility of his making the circuit of Africa, as his vessel was totally unable to proceed<sup>53</sup>. Xerxes gave no credit to his assertions; and, as he had not fulfilled the terms imposed upon him, he was executed according to his former sentence. An eunuch belonging to this Satastes, hearing of his master's death, fled with a great sum of money to Samos, but he was there plundered of his property by a native of the place, whose name I know, but forbear to mention.

XLIV. Of Asia, a very considerable part was first discovered by Darius. He was very desirous of ascertaining where the Indus meets the ocean, the only river but one in which crocodiles are found; to effect this, he sent, amongst other men in whom he could confide, Scylax of Caryandia<sup>54</sup>. Departing

veste, which is given by Valla and Gronovius, and which the word *φοινικίνη* will certainly justify.—T.

<sup>53</sup> *Unable to proceed.*]—This was, according to all appearances, the east wind which impeded the progress of the vessel, which constantly blows in that sea during a certain period.—Larcher.—See the note of Wesseling.

<sup>54</sup> *Scylax of Caryandia.*]—About this time, Darius being desirous to enlarge his dominions eastward, in order to the conquering of those countries laid a design of first making a discovery of them: for which reason, having built a fleet of ships at Caspatyrus, a city on the river Indus, and as far upon it as the borders



ing from Caspatyrus in the Pactyian territories, they followed the eastern course of the river, till they came to the sea; then sailing westward, they arrived, after a voyage of thirty months, at the very point from whence, as I have before related, the Ægyptian prince dispatched the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Africa. After this voyage Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of that ocean: whence it appears that Asia in all its parts, except those more remotely to the east, entirely resembles Africa.

XLV. It is certain that Europe has not hitherto been carefully examined; it is by no means certain whether to the east and north it is limited by the

borders of Scythia, he gave the command of it to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a city in Caria, and one well skilled in maritime affairs, and sent him down the river to make the best discoveries he could of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either side; ordering him for this end to sail down the current till he should arrive at the mouth of the river; and that then, passing through it into the Southern Ocean, he should shape his course westward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the straits of Babel-mandel and the Red Sea; and on the thirtieth month after his first setting out from Caspatyrus landed in Ægypt, at the same place from whence Necho king of Ægypt formerly sent out his Phœnicians to sail round the coasts of Africa, which it is most likely was the port where now the town of Suez stands, at the hither end of the said Red Sea.—*Prideaux.*

There were three eminent persons of this place, and of this name:—The one flourished under Darius Hystaspes, the second under Darius Nothus, the third lived in the time of Polybius. This was also the name of a celebrated river in Cappadocia.—*T.*

ocean.

ocean. In length it unquestionably exceeds the two other divisions of the earth; but I am far from satisfied, why to one continent three different names, taken from women, have been assigned. To one of these divisions some have given as a boundary the Ægyptian Nile, and the Colchian Phasis; others the Tanais, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis. The names of those who have thus distinguished the earth, or the first occasion of their different appellations, I have never been able to learn. Libya, or Africa, is by many of the Greeks said to have been so named from Libya, a woman of the country; and Asia from the wife of Prometheus. The Lydians contradict this, and affirm that Asia<sup>55</sup> was so called from Asias, a son of Cotys, and grandson of Manis, and not from the wife of Prometheus; to confirm this, they adduce the name of a tribe at Sardis, called the Asian tribe. It has certainly never been ascertained, whether Europe be surrounded by the ocean: it is a matter of equal uncertainty, whence or from

<sup>55</sup> *Asia*.]—In reading the poets of antiquity, it is necessary carefully to have in mind the distinction of this division of the earth into Asia Major and Minor.—When Virgil says

Postquam res Asiæ, Priamique evertere gentem  
Immeritam visum superis,

it is evident that he can only mean to speak of a small portion of what we now understand to be Asia; neither may it be amiss to remember, that there was a large lake of this name near mount Tmolus, which had its first syllable long.

Longa canoros  
Dant per colla modos, sonat amnis et Asia longe  
Pulsat palus.

T.

whom



whom it derives its name. We cannot willingly allow that it took its name from the Syrian Europa, though we know that, like the other two, it was formerly without any. We are well assured that Europa was an Asiatic, and that she never saw the region which the Greeks now call Europe; she only went from Phœnicia to Crete, from Crete to Lycia.—I shall now quit this subject, upon which I have given the opinions generally received.

XLVI. Except Scythia, the countries of the Euxine, against which Darius undertook an expedition, are of all others the most barbarous; amongst the people who dwell within these limits we have found no individual of superior learning and accomplishments, but Anacharsis<sup>56</sup> the Scythian: Even of the Scythian nation I cannot in general

<sup>56</sup> *Anacharsis.*]—Of Anacharsis the life is given at some length by Diogenes Laertius; his moral character was of such high estimation, that Cicero does not scruple to call him *sobrius, continens, abstinens, et temperans*. He gave rise to the proverb applicable to men of extraordinary endowments, of *Anacharsis inter Scythas*: he flourished in the time of Solon. The idea of his superior wisdom and desire of learning, has given rise to an excellent modern work by the Abbé Barthelemy, called the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*. With respect to what Herodotus here says concerning Anacharsis, he seemingly contradicts himself in chap. xciv. and xcv. of this book, where he confesses his belief that Zamolxis, the supposed deity of the Scythians, was a man eminent for his virtue and his wisdom.

Dicenus also was a wise and learned Scythian; and one of the most beautiful and interesting of Lucian's works is named from a celebrated Scythian physician, called Toxaris.

It must be remembered, that subsequent to the Christian æra many exalted and accomplished characters were produced from the Scythians or Goths.—T.

ſpeak with extraordinary commendation; they have however, one obſervance, which for its wiſdom excels every thing I have met with. The poſſibility of eſcape is cut off from thoſe who attack them; and if they are averſe to be ſeen, their places of retreat can never be diſcovered: for they have no towns nor fortified cities, their habitations they conſtantly carry along with them, their bows and arrows they manage on horſeback, and they ſupport themſelves not by agriculture, but by their cattle<sup>57</sup>; their conſtant abode may be ſaid to be in

<sup>57</sup> *By their cattle.*]—"The ſkilful practitioners of the medical art," ſays Mr. Gibbon, "may determine, if they are able to determine, how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the uſe of animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common aſſociation of carnivorous and cruel, deſerves to be conſidered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a ſalutary prejudice of humanity. Yet if it be true, that the ſentiment of compaſſion is imperceptibly weakened by the ſight and practice of domeſtic cruelty, we may obſerve that the horrid objects which are diſguiſed by the arts of European refinement are exhibited in their naked and moſt diſgusting ſimplicity in the tent of a Tartarian ſhepherd. The ox or the ſheep are ſlaughtered by the ſame hand from which they were accuſtomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are ſerved with very little preparation at the table of their unfeeling murderer." Mr. Gibbon afterwards gives the reader the following curious quotation from the *Emile* of Rouſſeau.

"Il eſt certain que les grands mangeurs de viande ſont en general cruels et feroces plus que les autres hommes. Cette obſervation eſt de tous les lieux, et de tous les tems: la barbarité Angloiſe eſt connue," &c.—I hope this reproach has long ceaſed to be applied to England by thoſe who really know it, and that the diſpoſitions of our countrymen may furniſh a proof againſt the ſyſtem, in favour of which they were thus adduced.

their



their waggons<sup>58</sup>. How can a people so circumstanced afford the means of victory, or even of attack?

XLVII. Their particular mode of life may be imputed partly to the situation of their country, and the advantage they derive from their rivers; their lands are well watered, and well adapted for pasturage. The number of the rivers is almost equal to the channels of the Nile; the more celebrated of them, and those which are navigable to the sea, I shall enumerate; they are these:—The Danube, having five mouths, the Tyres, the Hypa-

<sup>58</sup> *In their waggons.*]—See the advice of Prometheus to Io, in Æschylus:—

First then, from hence  
Turn to the orient sun, and pass the height  
Of these uncultur'd mountains: thence descend  
To where the wandering Scythians, train'd to bear  
The distant-wounding bow, on wheels aloft  
Roll on their wattle'd cottages. *Potter.*

See also Gibbon's description of the habitation of more modern Scythians. "The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team, perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen." The same circumstance respecting the Scythians is thus mentioned by Horace:—

Campestres melius Scythæ,  
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,  
Vivunt et rigidi Getæ  
Immetata quibus jugera, liberas  
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,  
Nec cultura placet longior annua.

7.  
nis,

nis, the Borysthenes, Panticapes, Hypacyris, Gerthus, and the Tanais.

XLVIII. No river of which we have any knowledge is so vast as the Danube; it is always of the same depth, experiencing no variation from summer or from winter. It is the first river of Scythia to the east, and it is the greatest of all, for it is swelled by the influx of many others: there are five which particularly contribute to encrease its size; one of these the Greeks call Pyreton, the Scythians Porata; the other four are the Tiarantus, Ararus, Naparis, and the Ordeffus. The first of these rivers is of immense size, flowing towards the east it mixes with the Danube; the second, the Tiarantus, is smaller, having an inclination to the west; betwixt these the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordeffus have their course, and empty themselves into the Danube. These rivers have their rise in Scythia, and swell the waters of the Danube <sup>59</sup>.

## XLIX.

<sup>59</sup> *Waters of the Danube.*]—Mr. Bryant's observations on this river are too curious to be omitted.

The river Danube was properly the river of Noah, expressed *Dá-Nau, Dá-Nauos, Da-Náuvás, Da-Náibus*. Herodotus plainly calls it the River of Noah, without the prefix; but appropriates the name only to one branch, giving the name of Ister to the chief stream.

It is mentioned by Valerius Flaccus:—

*Quas Tanais, flavusque Lycus, Hypanisque Noasque.*

This some would alter to *Novasque*, but the true reading is ascertained from other passages where it occurs; and particularly by this author, who mentions it in another place:—



XLIX. The Maris also, commencing amongst the Agathyrsi, is emptied into the Danube, which is likewise the case with the three great rivers, Atlas, Auras, and Tibisis; these flow from the summits of Mount Hæmus, and have the same termination. Into the same river are received the waters of the Athres, Noes, and Artanes, which flow through Thrace, and the country of the Thracian Crobyzi. The Cius, which, rising in Pæonia, near Mount Rhodope, divides Mount Hæmus, is also poured into the Danube. The Angrus comes from Illyria, and with a northward course passes over the Tribalian plains, and mixes with the Brongus; the Brongus meets the Danube, which thus receives the waters of these two great rivers. The Carpis, moreover, which rises in the country beyond the Umbrici, and the Alpis, which flows towards the north, are both lost in the Danube. Commencing with the Celtæ, who, except the Cynetæ, are the most remote inhabitants in the west of Europe, this river passes directly through the center of Europe, and by a certain inclination enters Scythia.

L. By the union of these and of many other waters, the Danube becomes the greatest of all

*Hyberna qui terga Noæ, gelidumque securi  
Haurit, et in totâ non audit Amazona ripâ.*

Most writers compound it with the particle Da, and express it Da-Nau, Da-Nauvis, Da-Naubis. Stephanus Byzantinus speaks of it both by the name of Danoubis, and Danoufis, &c.—vol. ii. 339.

rivers;

rivers ; but if one be compared with another, the preference must be given to the Nile, into which no stream nor fountain enters. The reason why in the two opposite seasons of the year the Danube is uniformly the same, seems to me to be this :—In the winter it is at its full natural height, or perhaps somewhat more, at which season there is in the regions through which it passes abundance of snow, but very little rain ; but in the summer all this snow is dissolved, and emptied into the Danube, which together with frequent and heavy rains greatly augment it. But in proportion as the body of its waters is thus multiplied, are the exhalations of the summer sun. The result of this action and reaction on the Danube, is that its waters are constantly of the same depth.

LI. Thus of the rivers which flow through Scythia, the Danube is the first ; next to this is the Tyres, which rising in the north from an immense marsh, divides Scythia from Neuris. At the mouth of this river those Greeks live who are known by the name of the Tyritæ.

LII. The third is the Hypanis ; this comes from Scythia, rising from an immense lake, round which are found wild white horses, and which is properly enough called the mother of the Hypanis<sup>60</sup>. This river through a space of five days journey

<sup>60</sup> *The Hypanis.*]—There were three rivers of this name :—One in Scythia, one in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and a third



journey from its first rise, is small, and its waters are sweet, but from thence to the sea, which is a journey of four days more, it becomes exceedingly bitter. This is occasioned by a small fountain, which it receives in its passage, and which is of so very bitter a quality <sup>61</sup>, that it infects this river, though by no means contemptible in point of size: this fountain rises in the country of the ploughing Scythians \*, and of the Alazones. It takes the name of the place where it springs, which in the Scythian tongue is Exampæus, corresponding in Greek to the “Sacred Ways.” In the district of the Alazones the streams of the Tyres and the Hypanis have an inclination towards each other, but they soon separate again to a considerable distance.

LIII. The fourth river, and the largest next to the Danube, is the Borysthenes <sup>62</sup>. In my opinion

in India, the largest of that region, and the limits of the conquests of Alexander the Great.—This last was sometimes called the Hypanis.—*T.*

<sup>61</sup> *Bitter a quality.*]—This circumstance respecting the Hypanis is thus mentioned by Ovid:—

Quid non et Scythicis Hypanis a montibus ortus  
Qui fuerat dulcis salibus vitatur amaris.

It is mentioned also by Pomponius Mela, book ii. c. 1.—*T.*

<sup>62</sup> *Borysthenes.*]—The emperor Hadrian had a famous horse, to which he gave this name; when the horse died, his master, not satisfied with erecting a superb monument to his memory, inscribed to him some elegant verses, which are still in being.—*T.*

\* Herodotus distinguishes the *Σκυθαί ἀροτριεῖς*, from the *Σκυθαί γινωσκῖαι*; and the reader is desired to correct Scythian husbandmen for the ploughing Scythians, page 196.

this

this river is more productive, not only than all the rivers of Scythia, but than every other in the world, except the Ægyptian Nile. The Nile, it must be confessed, disdains all comparison; the Borysthenes nevertheless affords most agreeable and excellent pasturage, and contains great abundance of the more delicate fish. Although it flows in the midst of many turbid rivers, its waters are perfectly clear and sweet; its banks are adorned by the richest harvests, and in those places where corn is not sown the grass grows to a surprising height; at its mouth a large mass of salt is formed of itself. It produces also a species of large fish, which is called the Antacæus; these, which have no prickly fins, the inhabitants salt: it possesses various other things which deserve our admiration. The course of the stream may be pursued as far as the country called Gerrhus, through a voyage of forty days, and it is known to flow from the north. But of the remoter places through which it passes, no one can speak with certainty; it seems probable that it runs towards the district of the Scythian husbandmen, through a pathless desert. For the space of a ten days journey these Scythians inhabit its banks. The sources of this river only, like those of the Nile, are to me unknown, as I believe they are to every other Greek. This river, as it approaches the sea, is joined by the Hypanis, and they have both the same termination; the neck of land betwixt these two streams is called the Hippoleon promontory, in which a temple is



erected to Ceres<sup>63</sup>. Beyond this temple as far as the Hypanis, dwell the Borysthenites.—But on this subject enough has been said.

LIV. Next to the above, is a fifth river, called the Panticapes; this also rises in the north, and from a lake. The interval betwixt this and the Borysthenes is possessed by the Scythian husbandmen. Having passed through Hylæa, the Panticapes mixes with the Borysthenes.

LV. The sixth river is called the Hypacyris: this, rising from a lake, and passing through the midst of the Scythian Nomades, empties itself into the sea near the town of Carcinitis<sup>64</sup>. In its course it bounds to the right Hylæa, and what is called the course of Achilles.

LVI. The name of the seventh river is the Gerrhus; it takes its name from the place Gerrhus, near which it separates itself from the Borysthenes, and where this latter river is first known. In its passage to-

<sup>63</sup> *To Ceres.*]—Some manuscripts read to “Ceres,” others to “the Mother;” by this latter expression Ceres must be understood, and not Vesta, as Gronovius would have it. In his observation, that the Scythians were acquainted neither with Ceres nor Cybele, he was perfectly right; but he ought to have remembered that the Borysthenites or Olbiopolitæ were of Greek origin, and that they had retained many of the customs and usages of their ancestors.—*Larcher.*

<sup>64</sup> *Carcinitis.*]—Many are of opinion that this is what is now called Golfo di Moscovia.—*T.*

wards the sea, it divides the Scythian Nomades from the Royal Scythians, and then mixes with the Hypacyris.

LVII. The eighth river is called the Tanais<sup>65</sup>; rising from one immense lake, it empties itself into another still greater, named the Mœotis, which separates the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatæ.—The Tanais is increased by the waters of another river, called the Hyrgis.

LVIII. The Scythians have thus the advantage of all these celebrated rivers. The grass which this country produces is of all that we know the fullest of moisture, which evidently appears from the dissection of their cattle.

LIX. We have shewn that this people possess the greatest abundance; their particular laws and

<sup>65</sup> *Tanais*.]—This river is now called the Don. According to Plutarch, in his Treatise of celebrated Rivers, it derived its name from a young man called Tanis, who avowing an hatred of the female sex, was by Venus caused to feel an unnatural passion for his own mother; and he drowned himself in consequence in this river. It was also called the river of the Amazons; and, as appears from an old scholiast on Horace, was sometimes confounded with the Danube.—It divides Europe from Asia.

Εὐρώπην δ' Ἀσίης Ταναις διὰ μίσσων ὀρίξει.—

*Dionysius.*

See also Quintus Curtius.—Tanais Europam et Asiam medius interfuit. l. vi. c. 2. Of this river very frequent mention is made by ancient writers; by Horace very elegantly, in the Ode beginning with “Extremum Tanaim si biberes Lyce, &c.”—T.



observances are these:—Of their divinities <sup>66</sup>, Vesta is without competition the first, then Jupiter, and Tellus, whom they believe to be the wife of Jupiter; next to these are Apollo, the Cœlestial Venus, Hercules, and Mars. All the Scythians revere these as deities, but the Royal Scythians pay divine rites also to Neptune. In the Scythian tongue Vesta is called Tabiti; Jupiter, and, as I think very properly, Papæus \*; Tellus, Apia; Apollo, Cœtosyrus; the Cœlestial Venus, Artimpasa; and Neptune, Thamimafadas. Amongst all these deities Mars is the only one to whom they think it proper to erect altars, shrines, and temples,

LX. Their mode of sacrifice in every place appointed for the purpose is precisely the same, it is this:—The victim is secured with a rope, by its two fore feet; the person who offers the sacri-

<sup>66</sup> *Of their divinities.*]—It is not unworthy the attention of the English reader, that Herodotus is the first author who makes any mention of the religion of the Scythians. In most writings on the subject of ancient mythology, Vesta is placed next to Juno, whose sister she was generally supposed to be; Montfaucon also remarks, that the figures which remain of Vesta have a great resemblance to those of Juno. With respect to this goddess, the ancients were much divided in opinion; Euripides and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, agree in calling her Tellus.—Ovid seems also to have had this in his mind when he said “Stat vi terra sua, vi stando Vesta vocatur.” Most of the difficulties on this subject may be solved, by supposing there were two Vestas.—T.

\* *Papæus*]—or Pappæus, signifying father; as being, according to Homer, *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, the ~~father~~ of gods and men.  
father

fice,

fice <sup>67</sup>, standing behind, throws the animal down by means of this rope; as it falls he invokes the name of the divinity to whom the sacrifice is offered; he then fastens a cord round the neck of the victim, and strangles it, by winding the cord round a stick; all this is done without fire, without libations, or without any of the ceremonies in use amongst us. When the beast is strangled, the sacrificer takes off its skin, and prepares to dress it.

LXI. As Scythia is very barren of wood, they have the following contrivance to dress the flesh of the victim:—Having flayed the animal, they strip the flesh from the bones, and if they have them at hand, they throw it into certain pots made in Scythia, and resembling the Lesbian caldrons, though somewhat larger; under these a fire is made with the bones <sup>68</sup>. If these pots cannot be procured, they  
enclose

<sup>67</sup> *Who, offers the sacrifice.*]—Montfaucon, in his account of the gods of the Scythians, apparently gives a translation of this passage, except that he says “the sacrificing priest, after having turned aside part of his veil:” Herodotus says no such thing, nor does any writer on this subject which I have had the opportunity of consulting.—T.

<sup>68</sup> *Fire is made with the bones.*]—Montfaucon remarks on this passage, that he does not see how this could be done. Resources equally extraordinary seem to be applied in the eastern countries, where there is a great scarcity of fuel. In Persia it appears from Sir John Chardin they burn heath; in Arabia they burn cow-dung; and according to Dr. Russel they burn parings of fruit, and such like things. The prophet Ezekiel was ordered to bake his food with human dung. See Ezekiel, chap. iv.



enclose the flesh with a certain quantity of water in the paunch of the victim, and make a fire with the bones as before. The bones being very inflammable, and the paunch without difficulty made to contain the flesh separated from the bone, the ox is thus made to dress itself, which is also the case with the other victims. When the whole is ready, he who sacrifices throws with some solemnity before him the entrails, and the more choice pieces.—They sacrifice different animals, but horses in particular.

LXII. Such are the sacrifices and ceremonies observed with respect to their other deities; but to the god Mars the particular rites which are paid are these—In every district they construct a temple to this divinity of this kind; bundles of small wood are heaped together, to the length of three stadia, and quite as broad, but not so high; the top is a regular square, three of the sides are steep and broken, but the fourth is an inclined plane forming

12. "Thou shalt bake it with dung that cometh out of man." Voltaire, in his remarks on this passage, pretends to understand that the prophet was to eat the dung with his food.—"Comme il n'est point d'usage de manger de telles confitures sur son pain, la plupart des hommes trouvent ces commandemens indignés de la Majesté divin." The passage alluded to admits of no such inference: but it may be concluded, that the burning of bones for the purpose of fuel was not a very unusual circumstance, from another passage in Ezekiel.—See chap. xxiv. 5. "Take also the choice of the flock, and burn the bones under it, and make it boil well."—  
T.

the ascent. To this place are every year brought one hundred and fifty waggons full of these bundles of wood, to repair the structure, which the severity of the climate is apt to destroy. Upon the summit of such a pile each Scythian tribe places an ancient scymetar<sup>69</sup>, which is considered as the shrine of Mars, and is annually honoured by the sacrifice of sheep and horses; indeed to this deity more victims are offered than to all the other divinities. It is their custom also to sacrifice every hundredth captive, but in a different manner from their other victims. Having poured libations upon their heads, they cut their throats into a vessel placed for the purpose. With this, carried to the summit of the pile, they besmear the above-mentioned scymetar. Whilst this is doing above, the following ceremony is observed below;—From these human victims they cut off the right arms close to the shoulder, and throw them up into the air. This

<sup>69</sup> *Ancient scymetar.*]—It was natural enough that the Scythians should adore with peculiar devotion the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron cimeter,—*Gibbon*.

In addition to this iron cymetar or cimeter, Lucian tells us that the Scythians worshipped Zamolxis as a god. See also Ammianus Marcellinus, xxx. 2.—*Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest, sed gladius Barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque et Martem regionem quas circumcircant præfulem verecundius colunt.*

Larcher, who quotes the above passage from Am. Mar. tells us from Varro, that anciently at Rome the point of a spear was considered as a representation of Mars.—*T.*

ceremony



ceremony being performed on each victim severally, they depart: the arms remain where they happen to fall, the bodies elsewhere.

LXIII. The above is a description of their sacrifices. Swine are never used for this purpose, as they will not suffer them to be kept in their country.

LXIV. Their military customs are these:—Every Scythian drinks the blood of the first person he slays; the heads of all the enemies who fall by his hand in battle he presents to his king: this offering entitles him to a share of the plunder, which he could not otherwise claim. Their mode of stripping the skin from the head<sup>70</sup> is this:  
they

<sup>70</sup> *The skin from the head.*]—To cut off the heads of enemies slain in battle, seems no unnatural action amongst a race of fierce and warlike barbarians. The art of scalping the head was probably introduced to avoid the trouble and fatigue of carrying these sanguinary trophies to any considerable distance. Many incidents which are here related of the Scythians, will necessarily remind the reader of what is told of the native Americans. The following war song, from Bossu's Travels through Louisiana, places the resemblance in a striking point of view:—"I go to war to revenge the death of my brothers—I shall kill—I shall exterminate—I shall burn my enemies—I shall bring away slaves—I shall devour their hearts, dry their flesh, drink their blood—I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups off their skulls."

The quickness and dexterity with which the Indians perform the horrid operation of scalping, is too well known to require any description. This coincidence of manners is very striking,  
and

they make a circular incision behind the ears, then taking hold of the head at the top, they gradually flay it, drawing it towards them. They next soften it in their hands, removing every fleshy part which may remain, by rubbing it with an ox's hide; they afterwards suspend it, thus prepared, from the bridles of their horses, when they both use it as a napkin, and are proud of it as a trophy. Whoever possesses the greater number of these is deemed the most illustrious. Some there are who sew together several of these portions of human skin, and convert them into a kind of shepherd's garment. There are others who preserve the skins of the right arms, nails and all, of such enemies as they kill, and use them as a covering for their quivers. The human skin is of all others certainly the whitest, and of a very firm texture; many Scythians will take the whole skin of a man, and having stretched it upon wood, use it as a covering to their horses.

LXV. Such are the customs of this people: this treatment, however, of their enemies heads, is not universal, it is only perpetrated on those whom they most detest.—The scull, below the eye-brows, they cut off, and having cleansed it thoroughly, if they are poor they merely cover it with a piece of leather; if they are rich, in addition to this they de-

and serves greatly to corroborate the hypothesis, that America was peopled originally from the northern parts of the old continent.—T.

corate



corate the inside with gold; it is afterwards used as a drinking cup. They do the same with respect to their nearest connections, if any dissensions have arisen, and they overcome them in combat before the king. If any stranger whom they deem of consequence happen to visit them, they make a display of these heads<sup>71</sup>, and relate every circumstance of the previous connection, the provocations received, and their subsequent victory: this they consider as a testimony of their valour.

LXVI. Once a year the prince or ruler of every district mixes a goblet of wine, of which those

<sup>71</sup> *Display of these heads.*]—Many instances may be adduced from the Roman and Greek historians, of the heads of enemies vanquished in battle being carried in triumph, or exposed as trophies; examples also occur in scripture of the same custom. Thus David carried the Philistine's head in triumph; the head of Ishboetheth was brought to David as a trophy; why did Jael *smite off* the head of Sisera, but to present it triumphantly to Barak? It is at the present day practised in the East, many examples of which occur in Niebuhr's Letters. This is too well known to require further discussion; but many readers may perhaps want to be informed, that it was also usual to cut off the hands and the feet of vanquished enemies.—The hands and feet of the sons of Remmon, who slew Ishboetheth, were cut off and hanged up over the pool of Hebron.—See also *Lady Wortley Montague*, vol. ii. p. 19.

“If a minister displeases the people, in three hours time he is dragged even from his master's arms: they cut off his hands, head, and feet, and throw them before the palace gate with all the respect in the world; while the sultan, to whom they all profess unlimited adoration, sits trembling in his apartment.”—*T.*

Scythians

*Synonymes with Chief*

Scythians drink <sup>72</sup> who have destroyed a public enemy. But of this they who have not done such a thing

<sup>72</sup> *Those Scythians drink.*]—These, with many other customs of the ancient Scythians, will necessarily bring to the mind of the reader various circumstances of the Gothic mythology, as represented in the poems imputed to Ossian, and as may be seen described at length in Mallet's Introduction to the History of Denmark. To sit in the Hall of Odin, and quaff the flowing goblets of mead and ale, was an idea ever present to the minds of the Gothic warriors; and the hope of attaining this glorious distinction, inspired a contempt of danger, and the most daring and invincible courage. See Gray's Descent of Odin:—

O. Tell me what is done below;  
 For whom yon glittering board is spread,  
 Drest for whom yon golden bed.  
*Pr.* Mantling in the goblet see  
 The pure beverage of the bee;  
 O'er it hangs the shield of gold,  
 'Tis the drink of Balder bold. 7.

See also in the Edda, the Ode of king Regner Lodbrog.

“Odin sends his goddesses to conduct me to his palace.—I am going to sit in the place of honour, to drink ale with the gods.—The hours of my life are passed away, I die in rapture.” Some of my readers may probably thank me for giving them a specimen of the original stanzas, as preserved by Olaus Wormius.

25.

Pugnativimus ensibus  
 Hoc ridere me facit semper  
 Quod Balderi patris scamna  
 Parata scio in aula.  
 Bibemus cerevisiam  
 Ex concavis crateribus craniorum  
 Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem  
 Magnifici in Odini domibus  
 Non venis desperabundus  
 Verbis ad Odini aulam.

29.



a thing are not permitted to taste; these are obliged to sit apart by themselves, which is considered as a mark of the greatest ignominy<sup>73</sup>. They who have killed a number of enemies, are permitted on this occasion to drink from two cups joined together.

+ LXVII. They have amongst them a great number who practise the art of divination; for this purpose they use a number of willow twigs<sup>74</sup>, in this manner:—They bring large bundles of these

29.

Fert animus finire  
 Invitant me Dysæ  
 Quas ex Odini aula  
 Odinus mihi misit  
 Lætus cerevisiam cum Afis  
 In summa sede bibam  
 Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ  
 Ridens moriar.

7.

<sup>73</sup> *Greatest ignominy.*]—Ut quisque plures interemerit, ita apud eos habetur eximius, cæterum expertem esse cædis inter opprobria vel maximum.—*Pomp. Mela.* l. ii. c. 1.

<sup>74</sup> *Willow twigs.*]—Ammianus Marcellinus, in speaking of the Huns, says, “Futura miro præfugiunt modo; nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis præstituto tempore discernentes, aperte quid portendatur norunt.—Larcher, in quoting the above passage, remarks, that he has somewhere in the country seen some traces of this superstition practised. There is an animated fragment of Ennius remaining, in which he expresses a most cordial contempt for all soothsayers: as it is not perhaps familiar to every reader, I may be excused inserting it.

Non

*Indra Vajra*

these together, and having untied them, dispose them one by one on the ground, each bundle at a distance from the rest. This done, they pretend to foretell the future, during which they take up the bundles separately, and tie them again together. —This mode of divination is hereditary amongst them. The enarists, or “effeminate men,” affirm that the art of divination<sup>75</sup> was taught them by the goddess Venus. They take also the leaves of the lime-tree, which dividing into three parts they twine round their fingers; they then unbind it, and exercise the art to which they pretend.

Non vicinos aruspices, non de circo astrologos,  
 Non Iliacos conjectores, non interpretes somnium,  
 Non enim sunt ii aut sapientia aut arte divina  
 Sed superstitioni vates, impudentesque haricli,  
 Aut inertes, aut insani, aut quibus egestas imperat.

A similar contempt for diviners, is expressed by Jocasta, in the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles:

Εμὲ παύσσει, καὶ μὰ θεὸν ἐστὶ σοὶ  
 Βροτέον ἔδει μαντικῆς· ἔχον τέχνης.

Let not a fear perplex thee, Œdipus;  
 Mortals know nothing of futurity,  
 And these prophetic seers are all impostors.—T.

<sup>75</sup> *Art of divination.*]—To enumerate the various modes of divination which have at different times been practised by the ignorant and superstitious, would be no easy task. We read of hydromancy, libaromancy, onychomancy, divinations by earth, fire, and air: we read in Ezekiel of divination by a rod or wand. To some such mode of divination, in all probability, the following passage from Hosea alludes: “My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them.”



LXVIII. Whenever the Scythian monarch happens to be indisposed, he sends for three of the most celebrated of these diviners. When the Scythians desire to use the most solemn kind of oath, they swear by the king's throne<sup>76</sup>: these diviners, therefore, make no scruple of affirming, that such or such individual, pointing him out by name, has forsworn himself by the royal throne.—Immediately the person thus marked out is seized, and informed that by their art of divination, which is infallible, he has been indirectly the occasion of the king's illness, by having violated the oath which we have mentioned. If the accused not only denies the charge, but expresses himself enraged at the imputation, the king convokes a double number of diviners, who, examining into the mode which has been pursued in criminating him, decide accordingly. If he be found guilty, he immediately loses his head, and the three diviners who were first consulted share his effects. If these last diviners acquit the accused, others are at hand, of whom if the greater number absolve him, the first diviners are put to death.

LXIX. The manner in which they are executed is this:—Some oxen are yoked to a waggon filled with faggots, in the midst of which, with their feet tied, their hands fastened behind, and their mouths gagged, these diviners are placed; fire is

<sup>76</sup> *King's throne.*]—"The Turks at this day," says Larcher, "swear by the Ottoman Porte." Reiske has the same remark: "Adhuc obtinet apud Turcas, per Portam Ottomanicam, hoc est domicilium sui principis, jurare."—*T.*

then set to the wood, and the oxen terrified to make them run violently away. It sometimes happens that the oxen themselves are burned; and often when the waggon is consumed, the oxen escape severely scorched. This is the method by which, for the above-mentioned or similar offences, they put to death those whom they call false diviners.

LXX. Of those whom the king condemns to death, he constantly destroys the male children, leaving the females unmolested. Whenever the Scythians form alliances<sup>77</sup>, they observe these ceremonies:—A large earthen vessel is filled with wine, into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties, obtained by a slight incision of a knife or a sword; in this cup they dip a scymetar, some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After this they pronounce some solemn prayers, and the parties who form the contract, with such of their friends as are of superior dignity, finally drink the contents of the vessel.

LXXI. The sepulchres of the kings are in the district of the Gerrhi. As soon as the king dies<sup>78</sup> a large trench of a quadrangular form is sunk, near where the Borysthenes begins to be navigable. When this has been done, the body is enclosed in

<sup>77</sup> *Form alliances.*]—See book i. c. 74.

<sup>78</sup> *King dies.*]—A minute and interesting description of the funeral ceremonies of various ancient nations may be found in Montfaucon, vol. v. 126, &c.—*T.*



wax, after it has been thoroughly cleansed, and the entrails taken out; before it is sown up they fill it with anise, parsley-seed, bruised cypress, and various aromatics. They then place it on a carriage, and remove it to another district, where the persons who receive it, like the Royal Scythians, cut off a part of their ear, shave their heads in a circular form, take a round piece of flesh from their arm, wound their foreheads, noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. The body is again carried to another province of the deceased king's realms, the inhabitants of the former district accompanying the procession. After thus transporting the dead body through the different provinces of the kingdom, they come at last to the Gerrhi, who live in the remotest parts of Scythia, and amongst whom the sepulchres are. Here the corpse is placed upon a couch, round which at different distances daggers are fixed; upon the whole are disposed pieces of wood covered with branches of willow. In some other part of this trench they bury one of the deceased's concubines, whom they previously strangle, together with the baker, the cook, the groom, his most confidential servant, his horses, the choicest of his effects, and finally some golden goblets, for they possess neither silver nor brass: to conclude all, they fill up the trench with earth, and seem to be emulous in their endeavours to raise as high a mound as possible.

LXXII. The ceremony does not here terminate.—They select such of the deceased king's attendants,

tendants, in the following year, as have been most about his person; these are all native Scythians, for in Scythia there are no purchased slaves, the king selecting such to attend him as he thinks proper: fifty of these they strangle<sup>79</sup>, with an equal number of his best horses. Of all these they open and clean the bodies, which having filled with straw, they sew up again: then upon two pieces of wood they place a third of a semicircular form, with its concave side uppermost, a second is disposed in like manner, then a third, and so on, till a sufficient number have been erected. Upon these semicircular pieces of wood they place the horses, after passing large poles through them, from the feet to the neck.

<sup>79</sup> *They strangle.*]—Voltaire supposes that they impaled alive the favourite officers of the khan of the Scythians, round the dead body; whereas Herodotus expressly says that they strangled them first.—*Larcher*.

Whoever has occasion minutely to examine any of the more ancient authors, will frequently feel his contempt excited, or his indignation provoked, from finding a multitude of passages ignorantly misunderstood, or wilfully perverted. This remark is in a particular manner applicable to M. Voltaire, in whose work false and partial quotations, with ignorant misconceptions of the ancients, obviously abound. The learned Pauw cannot in this respect be entirely exculpated; and I have a passage now before me, in which the fault I would reprobate is eminently conspicuous.—Speaking of the Chinese laws, he says, “they punish the relations of a criminal convicted of a capital offence with death, excepting the females, *whom they sell as slaves*, following in this respect the maxim of the Scythians, recorded by Herodotus.” On the contrary, our historian says, chap. 70, *that the females are not molested*. A similar remark, as it respects M. Pauw, is somewhere made by *Larcher*.—*T*.



One part, of the structure, formed as we have described, supporting the shoulders of the horse, the other his hinder parts, the legs are left to project upwards. The horses are then bridled, and the reins fastened to the legs; upon each of these they afterwards place one of the youths who have been strangled, in the following manner: a pole is passed through each quite to the neck, through the back, the extremity of which is fixed to the piece of timber with which the horse has been spitted; having done this with each, they so leave them.

LXXIII. The above are the ceremonies observed in the interment of their kings: as to the people in general, when any one dies the neighbours place the body on a carriage, and carry it about to the different acquaintance of the deceased; these prepare some entertainment for those who accompany the corpse, placing before the body the same as before the rest. Private persons, after being thus carried about for the space of forty days, are then buried<sup>80</sup>. They who have been engaged in the performance

<sup>80</sup> *Are then buried.*]—The Scythians did not all of them observe the same customs with respect to their funerals: there were some who suspended the dead bodies from a tree, and in that state left them to putrefy. “Of what consequence,” says Plutarch, “is it to Theodorus, whether he rots in the earth or upon it?—Such with the Scythians is the most honourable funeral.”

Silius Italicus mentions also this custom:

At gente in Scythicâ suffixa cadavera truncis  
Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia tabo.

performance of these rites, afterwards use the following mode of purgation:—After thoroughly washing the head, and afterwards drying it, they do thus with regard to the body: they place in the ground three stakes, inclining towards each other, round these they bind fleeces of wool as thickly as possible, and finally, into the space betwixt the stakes they throw red-hot stones.

LXXIV. They have amongst them a species of hemp resembling flax, except that it is both thicker and larger; it is indeed superior to flax, whether it is cultivated or grows spontaneously. Of this the Thracians<sup>81</sup> make themselves garments, which so nearly resemble those of flax, as to require a skilful eye to distinguish them: they who had never seen this hemp, would conclude these vests to be made of flax.

LXXV. The Scythians take the seed of this hemp, and placing it beneath the woollen fleeces

It is not perhaps without its use to observe, that barbarous nations have customs barbarous like themselves, and that these customs much resemble each other, in nations which have no communication. Captain Cook relates, that in Otaheite they leave dead bodies to putrefy on the surface of the ground, till the flesh is entirely wasted, they then bury the bones.—*Larcher*. See *Hawkeſworth's Voyages*.

<sup>81</sup> *Of this the Thracians.*]—Hesychius says that the Thracian women make themselves garments of hemp: consult him at the word *Καναβίς*:—"Hemp is a plant which has some resemblance to flax, and of which the Thracian women make themselves vests."—*T*.



which we have before described, they throw it up, on the red-hot stones, immediately a perfumed vapour<sup>82</sup> ascends stronger than from any Grecian stove. This to the Scythians is in the place of a bath, and it excites from them cries of exultation. It is to be observed, that they never bathe themselves: the Scythian women bruise under a stone some wood of the cypress, cedar, and frankincense; upon this they pour a quantity of water, till it becomes of a certain consistency, with which they anoint the body<sup>83</sup> and the face; this at the time imparts

<sup>82</sup> *A perfumed vapour.*]—As the story of the magic powers imputed to Medea seem in this place particularly applicable, I translate, for the benefit of the reader, what Palaphatus says upon the subject.

Concerning Medea, who was said by the process of boiling to make old men young again, the matter was this: she first of all discovered a flower which could make the colour of the hair black or white; such therefore as wished to have black hair rather than white, by her means obtained their wish. Having also invented baths, she nourished with warm vapours those who wished it, but not in public, that the professors of the medical art might not know her secret. The name of this application was *παρεψνσις*, or “the boiling.” When therefore by these fomentations men became more active, and improved in health, and her apparatus, namely the caldron, wood, and fire, was discovered, it was supposed that her patients were in reality boiled. Pelias, an old and infirm man, using this operation, died in the process.—T.

<sup>83</sup> *Anoint the body.*]—When we read in this place of the custom of anointing the body amongst an uncivilized race, in a cold climate, and afterwards find that in warmer regions it became an indispensable article of luxury and elegance with the politest nations, we pause to admire the caprice and versatility of the human mind. The motive of the  
Scythians

imparts an agreeable odour, and when removed on the following day gives the skin a soft and beautiful appearance.

LXXVI. The Scythians have not only a great abhorrence of all foreign customs, but each province seems unalterably tenacious of its own. Those of the Greeks they particularly avoid, as appears both from Anacharsis and Scyles. Of Anacharsis it is remarkable, that having personally

Scythians was at first perhaps only to obtain agility of body, without any views to cleanliness, or thoughts of sensuality. In hot climates fragrant oils were probably first used to disperse those fœtid smells which heat has a tendency to generate; precious ointments therefore soon became essential to the enjoyment of life; and that they really were so, may be easily made appear from all the best writers of antiquity. See Anacreon, Ode xv.

Εμοι μελεις μυροις  
Κατασχεχειν υπηνην  
Εμοι μελεις ροδοις  
Κατασχειν καρηνα.

Let my hair with unguents flow,  
With rosy garlands crown my brow.

See also Horace:

— funde capicibus  
Unguenta de conchis.

The same fact also appears from the sacred scriptures; see the threat of the prophet Micah: "Thou shalt tread the olive, but thou shalt not anoint thee with oil."—These instances are only adduced to prove that fragrant oils were used in private life for the purposes of elegant luxury; how they were applied in athletic exercises, and always before the bath, is sufficiently notorious.—T.

visited



visited a large part of the habitable world, and acquired great wisdom, he at length returned to Scythia. In his passage over the Hellespont, he touched at Cyzicus<sup>84</sup>, at the very time when the inhabitants were celebrating a solemn and magnificent festival to the mother of the gods. He made a vow, that if he should return safe and without injury to his country, he would institute, in honour of this deity, the same rites he had seen performed at Cyzicus, together with the solemnities observed on the eve of her festival<sup>85</sup>. Arriving therefore in Scythia, in the district of Hylæa, near the Course of Achilles, a place abounding with trees, he performed all the particulars of the above-mentioned ceremonies, having a number of small statues secured together<sup>86</sup>, with a cymbal in his hand.

<sup>84</sup> *Cyzicus.*]—An account of the ruins of this place may be found in Pococke. It now produces a quantity of rich wine in great repute at Constantinople.

This city was once possessed of considerable territory, and was governed by its own laws. There was here a temple built to Dindymene by the Argonauts. This must not be confounded with the Cyzicus, a city of Mysia, on the Propontis, built by the Milesians.—*T.*

<sup>85</sup> *Eve of her festival.*]—These festivals probably commenced early on the evening before the day appointed for their celebration; and it seems probable that they passed the night in singing hymns in honour of the god or goddess to whom the feast was instituted. See the *Pervigilium Veneris*.—*Larcher*.

The *Pervigilia* were observed principally in honour of Ceres and of Venus, and as appears from Aulus Gellius, and other writers, were converted to the purposes of excess and debauchery.—*T.*

<sup>86</sup> *Statues secured together.*]—These particularities are related

hand. In this situation he was observed by one of the natives, who gave intelligence of what he had seen to Saulius, the Scythian king. The king went instantly to the place, and seeing Anacharsis so employed, killed him with an arrow.—If any one now make enquiries concerning this Anacharsis, the Scythians disclaim all knowledge of him, merely because he visited Greece, and had learned some foreign customs: but as I have been informed by Timnes, the tutor of Spargapithes, Anacharsis was the uncle of Idanthyrfus, a Scythian king, and that he was the son of Gnurus, grandson of Lycus, and great-grandson of Spargapithes. If therefore this genealogy be true, it appears that Anacharsis was killed by his own brother; for Saulius, who killed Anacharsis, was the father of Idanthyrfus.

LXXVII. It is proper to acknowledge that from the Peloponnesians I have received a very different account: they affirm that Anacharsis was sent by the Scythian monarch to Greece, for the express purpose of improving himself in science;

at length in Apollonius Rhodius, book i. 1139.—This circumstance of the small figures tied together, is totally omitted by Mr. Fawkes in his version, who satisfies himself by saying,

The Phrygians still their goddess' favour win  
By the revolving wheel and timbrel's din.

The truest idea perhaps of the rites of Cybele, may be obtained from a careful perusal of the *Atys* of Catullus, one of the most precious remains of antiquity, and perhaps the only perfect specimen of the old dithyrambic verse.—*T.*

and



and they add, that at his return he informed his employer, that all the people of Greece were occupied in scientific pursuits, except the Lacedæmonians; but they alone endeavoured to perfect themselves in discreet and wise conversation. This however, is a tale of Grecian invention; I am convinced that Anacharsis was killed in the manner which has been described, and that he owed his destruction to the practice of foreign customs and Grecian manners,

LXXVIII. Not many years afterwards, Scyles, the son of Aripithes, experienced a similar fortune. Aripithes, king of Scythia, amongst many other children, had this son Scyles by a woman of Istria, who taught him the language and sciences of Greece. It happened that Aripithes was treasonably put to death by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi. He was succeeded in his dominions by this Scyles, who married one of his father's wives, whose name was Opæa. Opæa was a native of Scythja, and had a son named Oricus by her former husband. When Scyles ascended the Scythian throne, he was exceedingly averse to the manners of his country, and very partial to those of Greece, to which he had been accustomed from his childhood. As often therefore as he conducted the Scythian forces to the city of the Borysthenites, who affirm that they are descended from the Milesians, he left his army before the town, and entering into the place secured the gates. He then threw aside his Scythian dress, and assumed the habit of Greece. In this, without

x

guards

guards or attendants, it was his custom to parade through the public square, having the caution to place guards at the gates, that no one of his countrymen might discover him. He not only thus shewed his partiality to the customs of Greece, but he also sacrificed to the gods in the Grecian manner. After continuing in the city for the space of a month, and sometimes for more, he would resume his Scythian dress, and depart. This he frequently repeated, having built a palace in this town, and married an inhabitant of the place.

LXXIX. It seemed however ordained<sup>87</sup> that his end should be unfortunate, which accordingly happened. It was his desire to be initiated into the mysteries of Bacchus; and he was already about to take some of the sacred utensils in his hands, when the following prodigy appeared to him. I have before mentioned the palace which he had in the city of the Borysthenites; it was a very large

<sup>87</sup> *It seemed however ordained.*]—This idea, which occurs repeatedly in the more ancient writers, is most beautifully expressed in the *Perse* of Æschylus; which I give the reader in the animated version of Potter.

For when misfortune's fraudulent hand  
Prepares to pour the vengeance of the sky,  
What mortal shall her force withstand,  
What rapid speed th' impending fury fly?  
Gentle at first, with flattering smiles,  
She spreads her soft enchanting wiles;  
So to her toils allures her destin'd prey,  
Whence man ne'er breaks unhurt away.

7.

and



and magnificent structure, and the front of it was decorated with sphinxes and griffins of white marble: the lightning<sup>88</sup> of heaven descended upon it, and it was totally consumed. Scyles nevertheless persevered in what he had undertaken. The Scythians reproach the Greeks on account of their Bacchanalian festivals, and assert it to be contrary to reason to suppose that any deity should prompt men to acts of madness. When the initiation of Scyles was completed, one of the Borysthenites discovered to the Scythians what he had done—“ You Scythians,” says he, “ censure us on account of our Bacchanalian rites, when we yield to the impulse of the deity. This same deity has taken possession of your sovereign, he is now obedient in his service, and under the influence of his power. If ye disbelieve my words, you have only to follow me, and have ocular proof that what I say is true.” The principal Scythians accordingly followed him, and by a secret avenue were by him conducted to the citadel. When they beheld Scyles approach with his thiasus,

<sup>88</sup> *The lightning.*]—The ancients believed that lightning never fell but by the immediate interposition of the gods; and whatever thing or place was struck by it, was ever after deemed sacred, and supposed to have been consecrated by the deity to himself. There were at Rome, as we learn from Cicero de Divinatione, certain books called “ Libri Fulgurales,” expressly treating on this subject. In Ammianus Marcellinus this expression occurs, “ contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere pronuntiant libri fulgurales.” The Greeks placed an urn over the place where the lightning fell: the Romans had a similar observance.

and in every other respect acting the Bacchanal, they deemed the matter of most calamitous importance, and returning informed the army of all that they had seen.

LXXX. As soon as Scyles returned an insurrection was excited against him; and his brother Octomafades, whose mother was the daughter of Tereus, was promoted to the throne. Scyles having learned the particulars and the motives of this revolt, fled into Thrace; against which place, as soon as he was informed of this event, Octomafades advanced with an army. The Thracians met him at the Ister; when they were upon the point of engaging, Sitalces sent an herald to Octomafades, with this message: "A contest betwixt us  
" would be absurd, for you are the son of my  
" sister. My brother is in your power; if you  
" will deliver him to me, I will give up Scyles to  
" you, thus we shall mutually avoid all danger." As the brother of Sitalces had taken refuge with Octomafades, the above overtures effected a peace. The Scythian king surrendered up his uncle, and received the person of his brother. Sitalces immediately withdrew his army, taking with him his brother; but on that very day Octomafades deprived Scyles of his head. Thus tenacious are the Scythians of their national customs, and such the fate of those who endeavour to introduce foreign ceremonies amongst them.

LXXXI.



LXXXI. On the populoufness of Scythia I am not able to fpeak with decifion; they have been reprefented to me by fome as a numerous people, whilft others have informed me, that of real Scythians there are but few. I fhall relate however what has fallen within my own obfervation. Betwixt the Boryfthenes and the Hypanis there is a place called Exampæus: to this I have before made fome allufion, when fpeaking of a fountain which it contained, whose waters were fo exceedingly bitter as to render the Hypanis, into which it flows, perfectly impalatable. In this place is a vefſel of brafs, fix times larger than that which is to be ſeen in the entrance of Pontus, conſecrated there by Pausanias<sup>89</sup> the ſon of Cleombrotus. For the benefit of thoſe who may not

<sup>89</sup> *Conſecrated there by Pausanias.*]—Nymphis of Heraclea relates, in the ſixteenth book of his hiſtory of his country, that Pausanias, who vanquiſhed Mardonius at Platea, in violation of the laws of Sparta, and yielding to his pride, conſecrated, whilſt he was near Byzantium, a goblet of braſs to thoſe gods whoſe ſtatues may be ſeen at the mouth of the Euxine, which goblet may ſtill be ſeen. Vanity and insolence had made him ſo far forget himſelf, that he preſumed to ſpecify in the inſcription, that it was he himſelf who had conſecrated it: “Pausanias of Lacedæmon, ſon of Cleombrotus, and of the ancient race of Hercules, general of Greece, has conſecrated this goblet to Neptune, as a monument of his valour.”—*Athenæus*.

What would have been the indignation of this or any hiſtorian of that period, if he could have foreſeen the baſe and ſervile inſcriptions dedicated in after-times, in almoſt all parts of the habitable world, to the Cæſars and their vile deſcendants? Many of theſe have been preſerved, and are an outrage againſt all decency.—*T.*

have

have seen it, I shall here describe it. This vessel which is in Scythia, is of the thickness of six digits, and capable of containing six hundred amphoræ. The natives say that it was made of the points of arrows, for that Ariantas<sup>90</sup>, one of their kings, being desirous to ascertain the number of the Scythians, commanded each of his subjects, on pain of death, to bring him the point of an arrow: by these means so prodigious a quantity were collected, that this vessel was composed from them. It was left by the prince as a monument of the fact, and by him consecrated at Exampæus.—This is what I have heard of the populousness of Scythia.

LXXXII. This country has nothing remarkable except its rivers, which are equally large and numerous. If besides these and its vast and extensive plains, it possesses any thing worthy of admiration, it is an impression which they shew of the foot of Hercules<sup>91</sup>. This is upon a rock, two cubits

<sup>90</sup> *Ariantas.*]—I have now a remarkable instance before me, how dangerous it is to take upon trust what many learned men put down upon the authority of ancient writers. Hoffman, whose *Lexicon* is a prodigy of learning and of industry, speaking of this Ariantas, says, “that he made each of his subjects bring him every year the point of an arrow.” For the truth of this he refers the reader to Herodotus, and the passage before us. Herodotus says no such thing.—T.

<sup>91</sup> *Foot of Hercules.*]—The length of the foot of Hercules was ascertained by that of the stadium at Olympia, which was said to have been measured by him to the length of 600 of his own feet: hence Pythagoras estimated the size of Hercules by the rule of proportion; and hence too the proverb, *ex pede Herc-*



cubits in size, but resembling the footstep of a man; it is near the river Tyras.

LXXXIII. I shall now return to the subject from which I originally digressed.—Darius preparing to make an expedition against Scythia, dispatched emissaries different ways, commanding some of his dependants to raise a supply of infantry, others to prepare a fleet, and others to throw a bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus. Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, endeavoured to persuade the prince from his purpose, urging with great wisdom the indigence of Scythia; nor did he desist till he found all his arguments ineffectual. Darius having completed his preparations, advanced from Susa with his army.

LXXXIV. Upon this occasion a Persian, whose name was Œbazus, and who had three sons in the army, asked permission of the king to detain one of them. The king replied, as to a friend, that the petition was very modest, “and that he would leave him all the three.” Œbazus was greatly delighted, and considered his three sons as exempted from the service: but the king commanded his guards to put the three young men to death; and thus were the three sons of Œbazus left, deprived of life.

LXXXV. Darius marched from Susa to where *culem*, a more modern substitution for the ancient one of *εὐχών λεοψία*.—See Aul. Gell. l. i. and Erasmus's Adagia, in which the proverb of *ex pede Herculem* has no place.—T.

the

the bridge had been thrown over the Bosphorus at Chalcedon. Here he embarked and set sail for the Cyanean islands, which, if the Greeks may be believed, formerly floated<sup>92</sup>. Here, sitting in the temple<sup>93</sup>; he cast his eyes over the Euxine, which of all seas most deserves admiration. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred stadia; its breadth, where it is greatest, is three thousand two hundred. The breadth of the entrance is four stadia; the length of the neck, which is called the Bosphorus, where the bridge had been erected, is about one

<sup>92</sup> *Formerly floated.*]—The Cyanean rocks were at so little distance one from the other, that viewed remotely they appeared to touch. This optic illusion probably gave place to the fable, and the fable gained credit from the dangers encountered on this sea.—*Larcher*.

See a description of these rocks in Apollonius Rhodius: I give it from the version of Fawkes,

When hence your destin'd voyage you pursue,  
Two rocks will rise, tremendous to the view,  
Just in the entrance of the watery waste,  
Which never mortal yet in safety past.  
Not firmly fix'd, for oft, with hideous shock,  
Adverse they meet, and rock encounters rock.  
The boiling billows dash their airy brow,  
Loud thundering round the ragged shore below.

The circumstance of their floating is also mentioned by Valerius Flaccus.

Errantesque per altum

Cyaneas ———

T.

<sup>93</sup> *In the temple.*]—Jupiter was invoked in this temple, under the name of Urius, because this deity was supposed favourable to navigation, *εὐρος*, signifying a favourable wind. And never could there be more occasion for his assistance than in a sea remarkably tempestuous.—*Larcher*.



hundred and twenty stadia. The Bosphorus is connected with the Propontis<sup>94</sup>, which flowing into the Hellespont<sup>95</sup>, is five hundred stadia in breadth, and four hundred in length. The Hellespont itself, in its narrowest part, where it enters the Ægean sea, is forty stadia long, and seven wide.

<sup>94</sup> *Propontis*.]—Between the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, the shores of Europe and Asia, receding on either side, inclose the sea of Marmara, which was known to the ancients by the denomination of Propontis. The navigation from the issue of the Bosphorus to the entrance of the Hellespont, is about one hundred and twenty miles. Those who steer their westward course through the middle of the Propontis may at once defy the high lands of Thrace and Bithynia, and never lose sight of the lofty summit of mount Olympus, covered with eternal snows. They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of which Nicomedia was seated, the imperial residence of Diocletian; and they pass the small islands of Cyzicus and Proconnesus, before they cast anchor at Gallipoli, where the sea which separates Asia from Europe is again contracted into a narrow channel.—*Gibbon*.

<sup>95</sup> *Hellespont*.]—The geographers, who, with the most skilful accuracy, have surveyed the form and extent of the Hellespont, assign about sixty miles for the winding course, and about three miles for the ordinary breadth of these celebrated straits. But the narrowest part of the channel is found to the northward of the old Turkish castles, between the cities of Cestus and Abydos. It was here that the adventurous Leander braved the passage of the flood for the possession of his mistress:—It was here likewise, in a place where the distance between the opposite banks cannot exceed five hundred paces, that Xerxes composed a stupendous bridge of boats for the purpose of transporting into Europe an hundred and seventy myriads of Barbarians. A sea contracted within such narrow limits may seem but ill to deserve the epithet of *broad*, which Homer as well as Orpheus has frequently bestowed on the Hellespont.—*Gibbon*.

LXXXVI. The exact mensuration of these seas is thus determined; in a long day <sup>96</sup> a ship will sail the space of seventy thousand orgyæ, and sixty thousand by night. From the entrance of the Euxine to Phasis, which is the extreme length of this sea, is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, which is equal to eleven hundred and ten thousand orgyæ, or eleven thousand one hundred stadia. The broadest part of this sea, which is from Sindica <sup>97</sup> to Themiscyra, on the river Thermodon, is a voyage of three days and two nights, which is equivalent to three thousand three hundred stadia, or three hundred and thirty thousand orgyæ. The Pontus, the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont, were thus severally measured by me; and circumstanced as I have already described. The Palus Mæotis flows into the Euxine, which in extent almost equals it, and which is justly called the mother of the Euxine.

LXXXVII. When Darius had taken a survey of the Euxine, he sailed back again to the bridge

<sup>96</sup> *In a long day.*]—That is, a ship in a long day would sail eighty miles by day, and seventy miles by night. See Wesseling's notes on this passage.—*T.*

<sup>97</sup> *Sindica.*]—The river Indus was often called the Sindus. There were people of this name and family in Thrace. Some would alter it to Sindicon, but both terms are of the same purport. Herodotus speaks of a regio Sindica, upon the Pontus Euxinus, opposite to the river Thermodon. This some would alter to Sindica, but both terms are of the same amount. The Ind or Indus of the east is at this day called the Sind; and was called so in the time of Pliny.—*Bryant.*



constructed by Mandrocles the Samian. He then examined the Bosphorus, near which <sup>28</sup> he ordered two columns of white marble to be erected; upon one were inscribed in Assyrian, on the other in Greek characters, the names of the different nations which followed him. In this expedition he was accompanied by all the nations which acknowledged his authority, amounting, cavalry included, to seventy thousand men, independent of his fleet, which consisted of six hundred ships. These columns the Byzantines afterwards removed to their city, and placed before the altar of the Orthosian Diana<sup>29</sup>, excepting only one stone, which they deposited in their city before the temple of Bacchus, and which was covered with Assyrian characters. That part of the Bosphorus where Darius ordered the bridge to be erected is as I conjecture nearly at the point of middle distance between Byzan-

<sup>28</sup> *Near which.*]—The new castles of Europe and Asia are constructed on either continent upon the foundations of two celebrated temples of Serapis, and of Jupiter Urius. The old castles, a work of the Greek emperors, command the narrowest part of the channel, in a place where the opposite banks advance within five hundred paces of each other. These fortresses were restored and strengthened by Mahomet the Second, when he meditated the siege of Constantinople: but the Turkish conqueror was most probably ignorant that near two thousand years before his reign Darius had chosen the same situation to connect the two continents by a bridge of boats.—*Gibbon.*

<sup>29</sup> *Orthosian Diana.*]—We are told by Plutarch, that in honour of the Orthosian Diana, the young men of Lacedæmon permitted themselves to be flagellated at the altar with the extreme severity, without uttering the smallest complaint.—*T.*

tium

tium and the temple at the entrance of the Euxine.

LXXXVIII. With this bridge Darius was so much delighted, that he made many valuable presents <sup>100</sup> to Mandrocles the Samian, who constructed it: with the produce of these the artist caused a representation to be made of the Bosphorus, with the bridge thrown over it, and the king seated on a throne, reviewing his troops as they passed. This he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Juno, with this inscription:

Thus was the fishy Bosphorus inclos'd,  
When Samian Mandrocles his bridge impos'd;  
Who there, obedient to Darius' will,  
Approv'd his country's fame, and private skill.

LXXXIX. Darius having rewarded the artist, passed over into Europe: he had previously ordered the Ionians to pass over the Euxine to the Ister, where having erected a bridge, they were to wait his arrival. To assist this expedition, the Ionians and Æolians, with the inhabitants of the Hellespont, had assembled a fleet; accordingly, having passed the Cyanean islands, they sailed directly to the Ister; and arriving after a passage of two days from the sea at that part of the river where it begins to branch off, they constructed a bridge. Darius

<sup>100</sup> *Valuable presents.*]—Gronovius retains the reading of *παισι δέκα*, which is very absurd in itself, and ill agrees with the context: the true reading is *παισι δέκα*, that is, ten of each article presented.—See Casaubon on Athenæus, and others.—T.



crossed the Bosphorus, and marched through Thrace; and arriving at the sources of the river Tearus, he encamped for the space of three days.

XC. The people who inhabit its banks affirm the waters of the Tearus to be an excellent remedy for various diseases, and particularly for ulcers, both in men and horses. Its sources are thirty-eight in number, issuing from the same rock, part of which are cold, and part warm; they are at an equal distance from Heræum, a city near Perinthus<sup>101</sup>, and from Apollonia on the Euxine, being a two days journey from both. The Tearus flows into the Contadesus, the Contadesus into the Agrianis, the Agrianis into the Hebrus, the Hebrus into the sea, near the city Ænus.

XCI. Darius arriving at the Tearus, there fixed his camp: he was so delighted with this river, that he caused a column to be erected on the spot, with this inscription: "The sources of the Tearus afford  
" the best and clearest waters in the world:—In  
" prosecuting an expedition against Scythia, Da-  
" rius son of Hytaspes, the best and most ami-  
" able of men, sovereign of Persia, and of all the  
" continent, arrived here with his forces."

XCII. Leaving this place, Darius advanced to-

<sup>101</sup> *Perinthus*.]—This place was anciently known by the different names of Mygdonia, Heraclea, and Perinthus.—It is now called Pera.—T.

wards another river, called Artiscus, which flows through the country of the Odrysians<sup>102</sup>. On his arrival here he fixed upon one certain spot, on which he commanded every one of his soldiers to throw a stone as he passed: this was accordingly done, and Darius, having thus raised an immense pile of stones, proceeded on his march.

XCIII. Before he arrived at the Ister, he first of all subdued the Getæ, a people who pretend to immortality. The Thracians of Salmydessus, and they who live above Apollonia, and the city of Mesambria, with those who are called Cyrmianians, and Mysæans, submitted themselves to Darius without resistance. The Getæ obstinately defended themselves, but were soon reduced; these of all the Thracians are the bravest and the most upright.

XCIV. They believe themselves to be immortal<sup>103</sup>; and whenever any one dies they are of opinion that he is removed to the presence of their god

<sup>102</sup> *Odrysians*,]—These people are supposed to be the Moldavians: they had a city named Odrysa. Mention is made of them by Claudian in his *Gigantomachia*:

Primus terrificum Mavors non segnīs in hostem  
Odrisios impellit equos.

Silius Italicus also speaks of Odrisius Boreas.—*T*.

<sup>103</sup> *They believe themselves to be immortal*.]—Arrian calls these people Dacians. “The first exploits of Trajan,” says Mr. Gibbon, “were against the Dacians, the most warlike of men, who



god Zamolxis<sup>104</sup>, whom some believe to be the same with Gebeleizes. Once in every five years they choose one by lot, who is to be dispatched as a messenger to Zamolxis, to make known to him their several wants. The ceremony they observe on this occasion is this:—Three amongst them are appointed to hold in their hands three javelins, whilst others seize by the feet and hands the person who is appointed to appear before Zamolxis; they throw him up, so as to make him fall upon the javelins. If he dies in consequence, they imagine that the deity is propitious to them; if not, they

who dwelt beyond the Danube, and who, during the reign of Domitian, had insulted with impunity the majesty of Rome. To the strength and fierceness of Barbarians, they added a contempt for life, which was derived from a vain persuasion of the immortality of the soul."

The Getæ are represented by all the classic writers as the most daring and ferocious of mankind; in the Latin language particularly, every harsh term has been made to apply to them: *Nulla Getis toto gens est truculentior orbe*, says Ovid. Hume speaks thus of their principles of belief, with respect to the soul's immortality:—"The Getes, commonly called immortal from their steady belief of the soul's immortality, were genuine Theists and Unitarians. They affirmed Zamolxis, their deity, to be the only true God, and asserted the worship of all other nations to be addressed to mere fictions and chimeras: but were their religious principles any more refined on account of these magnificent pretensions?"—*T.*

<sup>104</sup> *Zamolxis*.]—Larcher, in conformity to Wesseling, prefers the reading of *Zalmoxis*.—In the Thracian tongue, *Zalmos* means the skin of a bear; and Porphyry, in the life of Pythagoras, observes, that the name of *Zalmoxis* was given him, because as soon as he was born he was covered with the skin of that animal.

accuse

accuse the victim of being a wicked man. Having disgraced him, they proceed to the election of another, giving him, whilst yet alive, their commands. This same people, whenever it thunders or lightens, throw their weapons into the air, as if menacing their god; and they seriously believe that there is no other deity.

XCV. This Zamolxis, as I have been informed by those Greeks who inhabit the Hellespont and the Euxine, was himself a man, and formerly lived at Samos, in the service of Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus; having obtained his liberty, with considerable wealth, he returned to his country. Here he found the Thracians distinguished equally by their profligacy and their ignorance; whilst he himself had been accustomed to the Ionian mode of life, and to manners more polished than those of Thrace; he had also been connected with Pythagoras, one of the most celebrated philosophers of Greece. He was therefore induced to build a large mansion, to which he invited the most eminent of his fellow-citizens: he took the opportunity of the festive hour to assure them, that neither himself, his guests, nor any of their descendants, should ever die, but should be removed to a place where they were to remain in the perpetual enjoyment of every blessing. After saying this, and conducting himself accordingly, he constructed a subterranean edifice: when it was compleated, he withdrew himself from the sight of his countrymen, and resided for three years beneath the earth.—During this period, the Thracians regretted



gretted his loss, and lamented him as dead. In the fourth year he again appeared amongst them, and by this artifice gave the appearance of probability to what he had before asserted.

XCVI. To this story of the subterraneous apartment I do not give much credit, though I pretend not to dispute it; I am, however, very certain that Zamolxis must have lived many years before Pythagoras: whether, therefore, he was a man, or the deity of the Getæ, enough has been said concerning him. These Getæ, using the ceremonies I have described, after submitting themselves to the Persians under Darius, followed his army.

XCVII. Darius, when he arrived at the Ister, passed the river with his army; he then commanded the Ionians to break down the bridge, and to follow him with all the men of their fleet. When they were about to comply with his orders, Coes, son of Erxander, and leader of the Mytelenians, after requesting permission of the king to deliver his sentiments, addressed him as follows:

“ As you are going, Sir, to attack a country,  
 “ which, if report may be believed, is without cities  
 “ and entirely uncultivated, suffer the bridge to  
 “ continue as it is, under the care of those who  
 “ constructed it:—By means of this our return will  
 “ be secured, whether we find the Scythians, and  
 “ succeed against them according to our wishes, or  
 “ whether they elude our endeavours to discover  
 “ them. I am not at all apprehensive that the  
 “ Scythians

“ Scythians will overcome us ; but I think that if  
 “ we do not meet them, we shall suffer from  
 “ our ignorance of the country. It may be said,  
 “ perhaps, that I speak from selfish considerations,  
 “ and that I am desirous of being left behind ; but  
 “ my real motive is a regard for your interest,  
 “ whom at all events I am determined to follow.”

With this counsel Darius was greatly delighted,  
 and thus replied :—“ My Lesbian friend, when I  
 “ shall return safe and fortunate from this expedi-  
 “ tion, I beg that I may see you, and I will not  
 “ fail amply to reward you, for your excellent  
 “ advice.”

XCVIII. After this speech, the king took a  
 cord, upon which he tied sixty knots <sup>105</sup>, then  
 sending

<sup>105</sup> *Sixty knots.*]—Larcher observes that this mode of nota-  
 tion proves extreme stupidity on the part of the Persians. It  
 is certain, that the science of arithmetic was first brought to  
 perfection in Greece, but when or where it was first introduced  
 is entirely uncertain ; I should be inclined to imagine, that  
 some knowledge of numbers would be found in regions the most  
 barbarous, and amongst human beings the most ignorant, had I  
 not now before me an account of some American nations, who  
 have no term in their language to express a greater number than  
 three, and even this they call by the uncouth and tedious name  
 of patarrarorincoursac. In the *Odyssey*, when it is said that  
 Proteus will count his herd of sea-calves, the expression used is  
*αρεπασσεται*, *he will reckon them by fives*, which has been re-  
 marked, as being probably a relic of a mode of counting prac-  
 tised in some remote age, when five was the greatest numeral. To  
 count the fingers of one hand, was the first arithmetical effort :  
 to carry on the account through the other hand was a refine-  
 ment, and required attention and recollection.

M. Goguet



sending for the Ionian chiefs, he thus addressed them:—

“ Men of Ionia, I have thought proper to  
 “ change my original determination concerning  
 “ this bridge: do you take this cord, and ob-  
 “ serve what I require; from the time of my  
 “ departure against Scythia, do not fail to  
 “ untie every day one of these knots. If they  
 “ shall be all loosened before you see me again,

M. Goguet thinks, that in all numerical calculations pebbles were first used:  $\psi\eta\phi\iota\zeta\omega$ , to calculate, comes from  $\psi\eta\phi\omega\varsigma$ , a little stone, and the word *calculation* from *calculi*, pebbles. This is probably true; but between counting by the five fingers and standing in need of pebbles to continue a calculation, there must have been many intervening steps of improvement. A more complicated mode of counting by the fingers was also used by the ancients, in which they reckoned as far as 100 on the left hand, by different postures of the fingers; the next hundred was counted on the right hand, and so on, according to some authors, as far as 9000. In allusion to this, Juvenal says of Nestor,

— Atque suos jam *dextrâ* computat annos.

Sat. x. 249.

and an old lady is mentioned by Nicarchus, an Anthologic poet, who made Nestor seem young, having returned to the *left* hand again:

————— ἡ χεὶρ λαίη  
 Ἰνφας ἀριθμίσθαι δούριον ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς.—

Antholog. l. ii

This, however, must be an extravagant hyperbole, as it would make her above 9000 years old, or there is some error in the modern accounts.—There is a tract of Bede's on this subject which I have not seen; it is often cited. Macrobius and Pliny tell us, that the statues of Janus were so formed, as to mark the number of days in the year by the position of his fingers, in Numa's time 355, after Cæsar's correction 365.  
 —*Saturn.* i. 9. and *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 7.—T,

“ you

“ you are at liberty to return to your country ;  
 “ but in the mean time it is my desire that you  
 “ preserve and defend this bridge, by which means  
 “ you will effectually oblige me.” As soon as  
 Darius had spoken, he proceeded on his march.

XCIX. That part of Thrace <sup>106</sup> which stretches to the sea, has Scythia immediately contiguous : where Thrace ends Scythia begins, through which the Ister passes, commencing at the south-east, and emptying itself into the Euxine. It shall be my business to describe that part of Scythia which is continued from the mouth of the Ister to the sea-coast. Ancient Scythia extends from the Ister westward, as far as the city Carcinitis. The mountainous country above this place, in the same direction, as far as what is called the Trachean Chersonese, is possessed by the people of Taurus ; this place is situate near the sea to the east. Scythia, like Attica, is in two parts limited by the sea, westward and to the east. The people of Taurus are circumstanced with respect to Scythia, as any other nation would be with respect to Attica, who, instead of Athenians, should inhabit the Sunian promontory, stretching from the district of Thonicus, as far as Anaphlytus. Such, comparing small things with

<sup>106</sup> *That part of Thrace.*]—This chapter will, doubtless, appear perplexed on a first and casual view, but whoever will be at the trouble to examine M. d’Anville’s excellent maps, illustrative of ancient geography, will in a moment find every difficulty respecting the situation of the places here described effectually removed.—7.



great, is the district of Tauris; but as there may be some who have not visited these parts of Attica, I shall endeavour to explain myself more intelligibly. Suppose, that beginning at the port of Brundisium<sup>107</sup>, another nation, and not the Iapyges<sup>108</sup>, should occupy that country, as far as Tarentum, separating it from the rest of the continent: I mention these two, but there are many other places similarly situated, to which Tauris might be compared.

<sup>107</sup> *Brundisium.*]—This place, which is now called Brindisi, was very memorable in the annals of ancient Rome; here Augustus first took the name of Cæsar, here the poet Pacuvius was born, and here Virgil died:—It belongs to the king of Naples; and it is the opinion of modern travellers, that the kingdom of Naples possesses no place so advantageously situated for trade.—*T.*

<sup>108</sup> *Iapyges.*]—The region of Iapygia has been at different times called Messapia, Calabria, and Salentum; it is now called Terra d'Otranto: it derived its name of Iapyges from the wind called Iapyx:

Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu  
Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater  
Adriæ novi sinus et quid albus  
Peccet Iapyx.

Where I suppose the Albus, contrasted to Ater, means that this wind surprized the unwary mariner, during a very severe sky.

Others are of opinion, that the Iapyges were so named from Iapyx, the son of Dædalus, and that the wind was named Iapyx, from blowing in the direction of that extremity of Italy, which is indeed more conformable to the analogy of the Latin names for several other winds.

C. The

C. The country above Tauris, as well as that towards the sea to the east<sup>109</sup>, is inhabited by Scythians, who possess also the lands which lie to the west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis, as far as the Tanais, which empties itself into this lake; so that as you advance from the Ister inland, Scythia is terminated first by the Agathyrsi, then by the Neuri, thirdly by the Androphagi, and last of all by the Melanchlæni.

CI. Scythia thus appears to be of a quadrangular form, having two of its sides terminated by the sea, to which its other two towards the land are perfectly equal: from the Ister to the Borysthenes is a ten days journey, which is also the distance from the Borysthenes to the Palus Mæotis. Ascending from the sea inland, as far as the country of the Melanchlæni, beyond Scythia, is a journey of twenty days: according to my computation, a day's journey is equal to two hundred sta-

<sup>109</sup> *To the east.*]—This description of Scythia is attended with great difficulties; it is not, in the first place, easy to seize the true meaning of Herodotus; in the second, I cannot believe that the description here given accords correctly with the true position of the places. I am, nevertheless, astonished that it should be generally faithful, when it is considered how scanty the knowledge of this country was: the historian must have laboured with remarkable diligence to have told us what he has. By the phrase of “the sea to the east,” Bellanger understands the Palus Mæotis; but I am convinced that when he describes the sea which is to the south, and to the west, he means only to speak of different points of the Euxine.—*Larcher.*



dia<sup>110</sup>: thus the extent of Scythia, along its sides, is four thousand stadia; and through the midst of it inland, is four thousand more.

CII. The Scythians, conferring with one another, conceived that of themselves they were unable to repel the forces of Darius; they therefore made application to their neighbours. The princes also to whom they applied held a consultation concerning the powerful army of the invader; at this meeting were assembled the princes of the Agathyrsi,

<sup>110</sup> *Two hundred stadia.*]—Authors do not agree with each other, nor indeed with themselves, about the length of the day's journey; Herodotus here gives two hundred stadia to a day's journey; but in the fifth book he gives no more than one hundred and fifty.

Strabo and Pliny make the length of the Arabian Gulph a thousand stadia, which the first of these authors says will take up a voyage of three or four days: what Livy calls a day's journey, Polybius describes as two hundred stadia. The Roman lawyers assigned to each day twenty miles, that is to say, one hundred and sixty stadia.—See *Casaubon on Strabo*, page 61 of the Amsterdam edition, page 23 of that of Paris.

The evangelist Luke tells us, that Joseph and Mary went a day's journey before they sought the child Jesus; now Maundrel, page 64, informs us, that according to tradition this happened at Beer, which was no more than ten miles from Jerusalem; according, therefore, to this estimation, a day's journey was no more than eighty stadia. When we recollect that the day has different acceptations, and has been divided into the natural day, the artificial day, the civil day, the astronomical day, &c. we shall the less wonder at any apparent want of exactness in the computations of space passed over in a portion of time by no means determinate.—T.

Tauri,

Tauri, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ.

CIH. Of these nations, the Tauri are distinguished by these peculiar customs<sup>111</sup>: All strangers shipwrecked on their coasts, and particularly every Greek who falls into their hands, they sacrifice to a virgin, in the following manner: after the ceremonies of prayer, they strike the victim on the head with a club. Some affirm, that having fixed the head upon a cross, they precipitate the body from the rock, on the craggy part of which the temple stands: others again, allowing that the head is thus exposed, deny that the body is so treated, but say that it is buried. The sacred personage to whom this sacrifice is offered, the Taurians themselves assert to be Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. The manner in which they treat their captives is this:—Every man cuts off the head of his prisoner, and carries it to his house, this he fixes on a stake, which is placed generally at the top of the chimney; thus situated, they affect to consider it as the protection of their families: their whole

<sup>111</sup> *Peculiar customs.*]—These customs, as far as they relate to the religious ceremonies described in the subsequent paragraphs of this chapter, must have been rendered by the Iphigenia of Euripides, and other writers, too familiar to require any minute discussion. The story of Iphigenia also, in all its particulars, with the singular resemblance which it bears to the account of the daughter of Jephtha in the sacred scriptures, must be equally well known.—T.



Subsistence is procured by acts of plunder and hostility.

CIV. The Agathyrsi<sup>112</sup> are a people of very effeminate manners, but abounding in gold; they have their women in common, so that, being all connected by the ties of consanguinity, they know nothing of envy or of hatred: in other respects they resemble the Thracians.

CV. The Neuri observe the Scythian customs. In the age preceding this invasion of Darius, they were compelled to change their habitations, from the multitude of serpents which infested them: besides what their own soil produced, these came in far greater numbers from the deserts above them; till they were at length compelled to take refuge with the Budini; these people have the character of being magicians. It is asserted by the Scythians, as well as by those Greeks who dwell in Scythia, that once in every year they are all of

<sup>112</sup> *Agathyrsi*.]—The country inhabited by this people is now called Vologhda, in Muscovy: the Agathyrsi were by Juvenal called cruel.

*Sauromataeque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi.*

Virgil calls them the painted Agathyrsi:

*Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi.*

They are said to have received the name of Agathyrsi from Agathyrsus, a son of Hercules.—7.

them

them changed into wolves <sup>113</sup>; and that after remaining so for the space of a few days, they resume their former shape; but this I do not believe, although they swear that it is true.

CVI. The Androphagi are perhaps, of all mankind, the rudest: they have no forms of law or justice, their employment is feeding of cattle; and though their dress is Scythian, they have a dialect appropriate to themselves.

CVII. The Melanchlæni <sup>114</sup> have all black garments, from whence they derive their name: these are the only people known to feed on human flesh <sup>115</sup>; their manners are those of Scythia.

CVIII. The Budini <sup>116</sup> are a great and nume-

<sup>113</sup> *Into wolves.*]—Pomponius Mela mentions the same fact, as I have observed in page 196. It has been supposed by some, that this idea might arise from the circumstance of these people cloathing themselves in the skins of wolves during the colder months of winter; but this is rejected by Larcher, without his giving any better hypothesis to solve the fable.—T.

<sup>114</sup> *Melanchlæni.*]—

Melanchlænis atra vestis & ex ea nomen.—

*Pomp. Mela.*

<sup>115</sup> *Human flesh.*]—M. Larcher very naturally thinks this a passage transposed from the preceding chapter, as indeed the word Androphagi literally means eaters of human flesh.

<sup>116</sup> *Budini.*]—The district possessed by this people is now called Podolia: Pliny supposes them to have been so called from using waggons drawn by oxen.—T.



rous people ; their bodies are painted of a blue and red colour ; they have in their country a town called Gelonus, built entirely of wood. Its walls are of a surprising height : they are on each side three hundred stadia in length ; the houses and the temples are all of wood. They have temples built in the Grecian manner to Grecian deities, with the statues, altars, and shrines of wood. Every three years<sup>117</sup> they have a festival in honour of Bacchus. The Geloni are of Grecian origin ; but being expelled from the commercial towns, they established themselves amongst the Budini. Their language is a mixture of Greek and Scythian.

CIX. The Budini are distinguished equally in their language and manner of life from the Geloni : they are the original natives of the country, feeders of cattle, and the only people of the country who eat vermin. The Geloni<sup>118</sup>, on the con-

<sup>117</sup> *Every three years.*]—This feast, celebrated in honour of Bacchus, was named the Trieterica, to which there are frequent allusions in the ancient authors.—See Statius.

——— Non hæc Trieterica vobis  
Nox patrio de more venit.

From which we may presume that this was kept up throughout the night.

<sup>118</sup> *Geloni.*]—These people are called Picæ by Virgil:

Picæque Gelonos. *Georg.* ii. 115.

And by Lucan fortes :

Massagetes quo fugit equo fortesque Gelonos.—*L.* iii. 283.

trary,

trary, pay attention to agriculture, live on corn, cultivate gardens, and resemble the Budini neither in appearance nor complexion. The Greeks however are apt, though erroneously, to confound them both under the name of Geloni. Their country is covered with trees of every species; where these are the thickest, there is a large and spacious lake with a marsh surrounded with reeds. In this lake are found otters, beavers, and other wild animals, who have square snouts: of these the skins are used to border the garment<sup>119</sup>; and their testicles are esteemed useful in hysteric diseases.

CX. Of the Sauromatæ<sup>120</sup> we have this account. In a contest which the Greeks had with the

<sup>119</sup> *Border the garment.*]—It is perhaps not unworthy remark, that throughout the sacred scriptures we find no mention made of furs: and this is the more remarkable, as in Syria and Ægypt, according to the accounts of modern travellers, garments lined and bordered with costly furs are the dresses of honour and of ceremony. Purple and fine linen are what we often read of in scripture; but never of fur.  
—T.

<sup>120</sup> *Sauromatæ.*]—This people were also called Sarmatæ or Sarmatians. It may perhaps tend to excite some novel and interesting ideas in the mind of the English reader, when he is informed, that amongst a people rude and uncivilized as these Sarmatians are here described, the tender and effeminate Ovid was compelled to consume a long and melancholy exile. It was on the banks of the Danube that he wrote those nine books of epistles, which are certainly not the least valuable of his works: The following lines are eminently harmonious and pathetic:

T 4

At



the Amazons, whom the Scythians call Oiorpata<sup>111</sup>, or, as it may be interpreted, men-slayers (for Oeor signifies a man, and pata to kill) they obtained a victory over them at Thermodon. On their return, as many Amazons<sup>122</sup> as they were able to take

At puto cum requies medicinaque publica curæ  
 Somnus adest, solitis nox venit orba malis,  
 Somnia me terrent veros imitantia casus,  
 Et vigilant sensus in mea damna mei;  
 Aut ego Sarmaticas videor vitare sagittas  
 Aut dare captivas ad fera vincla manus:  
 Aut ubi decipior melioris imagine somni,  
 Aspicio patriæ testâ relicta meæ,  
 Et modo vobiscum quos sum veneratus amici,  
 Et modo cum cara conjuge multa loquor.      T.

Herodotus relates the origin of this people in this and the subsequent chapters. The account of Diodorus Siculus differs materially; the Scythians, says this author, having subdued part of Asia, drove several colonies out of the country, and amongst them one of the Medes; this, advancing towards the Tanais, formed the nation of the Sauromatæ.—*Larcher.*

<sup>111</sup> *Oiorpata.*]—This etymology is founded upon a notion that the Amazons were a community of women who killed every man with whom they had any commerce, and yet subsisted as a people for ages. This title was given them from their worship, for Oiorpata, or as some manuscripts have it Aorpata, is the same as Patah-Or, the priest of Orus, or in a more lax sense the votaries of that god. They were Ἀνδροκτόνοι, for they sacrificed all strangers whom fortune brought upon their coast: so that the whole Euxine sea, upon which they lived, was rendered infamous from their cruelty.—*Bryant.*

<sup>122</sup> *Amazons.*]—The more striking peculiarities relating to this fancied community of women, are doubtless familiar to the most

take captive, they distributed in three vessels: these, when they were out at sea, rose against their conquerors, and put them all to death. But as they were totally ignorant of navigation, and knew nothing at all of the management either of helms, sails, or oars, they were obliged to resign themselves to the wind and the tide, which carried them to Cremnes, near the Palus Mæotis, a place inhabited by the free Scythians. The Amazons here disembarked, and advanced towards the part which was inhabited, and meeting with a stud of horses in their route, they immediately seized them, and, mounted on these, proceeded to plunder the Scythians.

CXI. The Scythians were unable to explain what had happened, being neither acquainted with the language, the dress, nor the country of the invaders. Under the impression that they were a body of men nearly of the same age, they offered them battle. The result was, that having taken some as prisoners, they at last discovered them to be women. After a consultation amongst themselves, they determined not to put any of them to death, but to select a detachment of their youngest

most common reader. The subject, considered in a scientific point of view, is admirably discussed by Bryant. His chapter on the Amazons is too long to transcribe, and it would be injurious to mutilate it. "Among barbarous nations," says Mr. Gibbon, "women have often combated by the side of their husbands: but it is *almost* impossible that a society of Amazons should ever have existed in the old or new world."—T.

men,



men, equal in number, as they might conjecture, to the Amazons. They were directed to encamp opposite to them, and by their adversaries motions to regulate their own: if they were attacked, they were to retreat without making resistance; when the pursuit should be discontinued, they were to return, and again encamp as near the Amazons as possible. The Scythians took these measures, with the view of having children by these invaders.

CXII. The young men did as they were ordered. The Amazons, seeing that no injury was offered them, desisted from hostilities. The two camps imperceptibly approached each other. The young Scythians, as well as the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses; and both obtained their subsistence from the chase.

CXIII. It was the custom of the Amazons, about noon, to retire from the rest, either alone or two in company, to ease nature. The Scythians discovered this, and did likewise. One of the young men met with an Amazon, who had wandered alone from the rest, and who, instead of rejecting his caresses, suffered him to enjoy her person. They were not able to converse with each other, but she intimated by signs, that if on the following day he would come to the same place, and bring with him a companion, she would bring another female to meet him. The young man returned, and told what had happened: he was punctual to his engagement,

ment, and the next day went with a friend to the place, where he found the two Amazons waiting to receive them.

CXIV. This adventure was communicated to the Scythians, who soon conciliated the rest of the women. The two camps were presently united, and each considered as his wife her to whom he had first attached himself. As they were not able to learn the dialect of the Amazons, they taught them theirs; which having accomplished, the husbands thus addressed their wives:—"We have relations and property, let us therefore change this mode of life; let us go hence, and communicate with the rest of our countrymen, where you and you only shall be our wives." To this the Amazons thus replied: "We cannot associate with your females, whose manners are so different from our own; we are expert in the use of the javelin and the bow, and accustomed to ride on horseback, but we are ignorant of all feminine employments: your women are very differently accomplished; instructed in female arts, they pass their time in their waggons<sup>123</sup>, and despise the chase, with all similar exercises; we cannot therefore live with them. If you really desire to retain us as your wives, and to behave your-

<sup>123</sup> *In their waggons.*]—These waggons served them instead of houses. Every one knows that in Greece the women went out but seldom; but I much fear that Herodotus attributes to the Scythian women the manners of those of Greece.—*Larcher.*



“ selves honestly towards us, return to your parents,  
“ dispose of your property, and afterwards come  
“ back to us, and we will live together, at a dis-  
“ tance from your other connections.”

CXV. The young men approved of their advice; they accordingly took their share of the property which belonged to them, and returned to the Amazons, by whom they were thus addressed.  
“ Our residence here occasions us much terror and  
“ uneasiness: we have not only deprived you of  
“ your parents, but have greatly wasted your coun-  
“ try. As you think us worthy of being your  
“ wives, let us leave this place, and dwell beyond  
“ the Tanais.”

CXVI. With this also the young Scythians complied, and having passed the Tanais, they marched forwards a three days journey towards the east, and three more from the Palus Mœotis towards the north. Here they fixed themselves, and now remain. The women of the Sauromatæ still retain their former habits of life; they pursue the chase on horseback, sometimes with and sometimes without their husbands, and, dressed in the habits of the men, frequently engage in battle.

CXVII. The Sauromatæ use the Scythian language, but their dialect has always been impure, because the Amazons themselves had learned it but imperfectly. With respect to their institutions concerning marriage, no virgin is permitted to  
marry

marry till she shall first have killed an enemy <sup>124</sup>. It sometimes therefore happens that many women die single at an advanced age, having never been able to fulfil the conditions required.

CXVIII. To these nations, which I have described assembled in council, the Scythian ambassadors were admitted—they informed the princes, that the Persian, having reduced under his authority all the nations of the adjoining continent, had thrown a bridge over the neck of the Bosphorus, in order to pass into theirs: that he had already subdued Thrace, and constructed a bridge over the Ister, ambitiously hoping to reduce them also. “Will it be just,” they continued, “for you to remain inactive spectators of our ruin? Rather, having the same sentiments, let us advance together against this invader: unless you do this, we shall be reduced to the last extremities, and be compelled either to forsake our country, or to submit to the terms he may impose. If you withhold your assistance, what may we not dread? Neither will you have reason to expect a different or a better fate; for are not you the object

<sup>124</sup> *Killed an enemy.*]—The account which Hippocrates gives is somewhat different: the women of the Sauromatæ mount on horseback, draw the bow, lance the javelin from on horseback, and go to war as long as they remain unmarried: they are not suffered to marry till they have killed three enemies; nor do they cohabit with their husbands till they have performed the ceremonies which their laws require. Their married women do not go on horseback, unless indeed it should be necessary to make a national expedition.



“ of the Persian’s ambition as well as ourselves ? or  
 “ do you suppose that, having vanquished us, he  
 “ will leave you unmolested ? That we reason  
 “ justly, you have sufficient evidence before you.  
 “ If his hostilities were directed only against us,  
 “ with the view of revenging upon us the former  
 “ servile condition of his nation, he would immedi-  
 “ ately have marched into our country, without at  
 “ all injuring or molesting others ; he would have  
 “ shewn by his conduct, that his indignation was  
 “ directed against the Scythians only. On the con-  
 “ trary, as soon as ever he set foot upon our con-  
 “ tinent, he reduced all the nations which he met,  
 “ and has subdued the Thracians, and our neigh-  
 “ bours the Getæ.”

CXIX. When the Scythians had thus delivered  
 their sentiments, the princes of the nations who were  
 assembled deliberated among themselves, but great  
 difference of opinion prevailed ; the sovereigns of  
 the Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ were unani-  
 mous in their inclination to assist the Scythians ; but  
 those of the Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Me-  
 lanchlæni, and Tauri, made this answer to the am-  
 bassadors : “ If you had not been the first aggress-  
 “ sors in this dispute, having first of all commenced  
 “ hostilities against Persia, your desire of assistance  
 “ would have appeared to us reasonable ; we should  
 “ have listened to you with attention, and yielded  
 “ the aid which you require : but without any in-  
 “ terference on our part, you first made incursions  
 “ into their territories, and as long as fortune fa-  
 “ voured

“ voured you, ruled over Persia. The same for-  
 “ tune now seems propitious to them, and they  
 “ only retaliate your own conduct upon you. We  
 “ did not before offer any injury to this people,  
 “ neither without provocation shall we do so now :  
 “ but if he attack our country, and commence  
 “ hostilities against us, he will find that we shall  
 “ not patiently endure the insult. Until he shall  
 “ do this we shall remain neuter. We cannot  
 “ believe that the Persians intend any injury to us,  
 “ but to those alone who first offended them.”

CXX. When the Scythians heard this, and  
 found that they had no assistance to expect, they  
 determined to avoid all open and decisive en-  
 counters: with this view they divided themselves  
 into two bodies, and retiring gradually before the  
 enemy, they filled up the wells and fountains which  
 lay in their way, and destroyed the produce of  
 their fields. The Sauromatæ were directed to ad-  
 vance to the district under the authority of Scopasis,  
 with orders, upon the advance of the Persians, to  
 retreat towards the Mæotis, by the river Tanais.  
 If the Persians retreated, they were to harass and  
 pursue them. This was the disposition of one part  
 of their power. The two other divisions of their  
 country, the greater one under Indathyrfus, and the  
 third under Taxacis, were to join themselves to the  
 Geloni and Budini, and advancing a day's march  
 before the Persians, were gradually to retreat, and  
 in other respects perform what had been previously  
 determined in council. They were particularly

§

enjoined



enjoined to allure the enemy to pass the dominions of those nations who had withheld their assistance, in order that their indignation might be provoked; that as they were unwilling to unite in any hostilities before, they should now be compelled to take arms in their own defence. They were finally to retire into their own country, and to attack the enemy, if it could be done with any prospect of success<sup>125</sup>.

CXXI. The Scythians having determined upon these measures, advanced silently before the forces of Darius, sending forwards as scouts a select detachment of their cavalry: they also dispatched before them the carriages in which their wives and children usually live, together with their cattle, reserving only such a number as was necessary to their subsistence, giving directions that their route should be regularly towards the north.

CXXII. These carriages accordingly advanced as they were directed; the Scythian scouts, finding that the Persians had proceeded a three days journey from the Ister, encamped at the distance of one day's march from their army, and destroyed all the produce of the lands. The Persians, as soon

<sup>125</sup> *Prospect of success.*]—The very judicious plan of operation here pourtrayed seems rather to belong to a civilized nation, acquainted with all the subtrefuges of the most improved military discipline, than to a people so rude and barbarous as the Scythians are elsewhere represented. The conduct of the Roman Fabius, who, to use the words of Ennius, *cunctando restituit rem*, was not very unlike this.—7.

as they came in sight of the Scythian cavalry, commenced the pursuit; whilst the Scythians regularly retired before them. Directing their attention to one part of the enemy in particular, the Persians continued to advance eastward towards the Tanais. The Scythians having crossed this river, the Persians did the same, till passing over the country of the Sauromatæ, they came to that of the Budini.

CXXIII. As long as the Persians remained in Scythia and Sarmatia, they had little power of doing injury, the country around them was so vast and extensive; but as soon as they came amongst the Budini, they discovered a town built entirely of wood, which the inhabitants had totally stripped and deserted; to this they set fire. This done, they continued their pursuit through the country of the Budini, till they came to a dreary solitude. This is beyond the Budini, and of the extent of a seven days journey, without a single inhabitant. Farther on are the Thyssagetæ<sup>126</sup>, from whose country four great rivers, after watering the intermediate plains, empty themselves into the Palus Mæotis. The names of these rivers are the Lycus, the Oarus, the Tanais, and the Syrgis.

<sup>126</sup> *Thyssagetæ*.]—This people are indifferently named the Thyssagetæ, the Thyrsagetæ, and the Tyrregetæ; mention is made of them by Strabo, Pliny, and Valerius Flaccus.—This latter author says,

Non ego sanguineis gestantem tympana bellis  
Thyrsagetem, cinctumque vagis post terga filebo  
Pellibus.

τ.

VOL. II.

U

CXXIV.



CXXIV. As soon as Darius arrived at the above solitude, he halted, and encamped his army upon the banks of the Oarus: he then constructed eight large forts, at the distance of sixty stadia from each other, the ruins of which have been visible to my time. Whilst he was thus employed, that detachment of the enemy which he had pursued, making a circuit by the higher parts of the country, returned into Scythia. When these had disappeared, and were no more to be discovered, Darius left his forts in an unfinished state, and directed his march westward, thinking that the Scythians whom he had pursued were the whole of the nation, and had fled towards the west: accelerating therefore his march, he arrived in Scythia, and met with two detachments of Scythians; these also he pursued, who took care to keep from him at the distance of one day's march.

CXXV. Darius continued his pursuit, and the Scythians, as had been previously concerted, led him into the country of those who had refused to accede to their alliance, and first of all into that of the Melanchlæni. When the lands of this people had been effectually harassed by the Scythians, as well as the Persians, the latter were again led by the former into the district of the Androphagi. Having in like manner distressed these, the Persians were allured on to the Neuri: the Neuri being also alarmed and harassed, the attempt was made to carry the Persians amongst the Agathyrsi. This people however had observed, that before their own country

had suffered any injury from the invaders, the Scythians had taken care to distress the lands of their neighbours; they accordingly dispatched to them a messenger, forbidding their nearer approach, and threatening that any attempt to advance should meet with their hostile resistance: with this determination the Agathyrsi appeared in arms upon their borders. But the Melanchlæni, the Androphagi, and the Neuri, although they had suffered equally from the Persians and the Scythians, neither made any exertions, nor remembered what they had before menaced, but fled in alarm to the deserts of the north. The Scythians, turning aside from the Agathyrsi, who had refused to assist them, retreated from the country of the Neuri, towards Scythia, whither they were pursued by the Persians.

CXXVI. As they continued to persevere in the same conduct, Darius was induced to send a messenger to Indathyrus, the Scythian prince. “Wretched man,” said the ambassador, “why do you thus continue to fly, having the choice of one of these alternatives—If you think yourself able to contend with me, stop and let us engage: if you feel a conscious inferiority, bring to me, as to your superior, earth and water<sup>127</sup>; let us come to a conference.”

CXXVII.

<sup>127</sup> *Earth and water.*]—Amongst the ancient nations of the west, to shew that they confessed themselves overcome, or that they surrendered at discretion, they gathered some grass, and presented it to the conqueror. By this action they resigned all the claims they possessed to their country. In the time of Pliny, the Germans still observed this custom. Summum apud



CXXVII. The Scythian monarch made this reply: "It is not my disposition, Oh Persian, to fly  
 " from any man through fear; neither do I now  
 " fly from you. My present conduct differs not  
 " at all from that which I pursue in a state of peace.  
 " Why I do not contend with you in the open  
 " field, I will explain: we have no inhabited towns  
 " nor cultivated lands of which we can fear your  
 " invasion or your plunder, and have therefore no  
 " occasion to engage with you precipitately: but  
 " we have the sepulchres of our fathers, these you  
 " may discover; and if you endeavour to injure  
 " them, you shall soon know how far we are able  
 " or willing to resist you; till then we will not  
 " meet you in battle. Remember farther, that I

antiquos signum victoriæ erat herbam porrigere victos, hoc est terra et altrice ipsâ humo et humatione etiam cedere, quem morem etiam nunc durare apud Germanos scio.—Festus and Servius, upon verse 128, book viii. of the *Æneid* of Virgil,

*Et vitta comptos voluit prætereendere ramos,*

affirm, that herbam do, is the same thing as victum me fateor et cedo victoriam. The same ceremony was observed, or something like it, when a country, a fief, or a portion of land, was given or sold to any one.—See Du Cange, Glossary, at the word *Investitura*. In the East, and in other countries, it was by the giving of earth and water, that a prince was put in possession of a country; and the investiture was made him in this manner. By this they acknowledged him their master without controul, for earth and water involve every thing.—Aristotle says, that to give earth and water, is to renounce one's liberty.—*Larcher*.

Amongst the Romans, when an offender was sent into banishment, he was emphatically interdicted the use of fire and water, which was supposed to imply the absence of every aid and comfort.—*T*.

" acknowledge

“ acknowledge no master or superior, but Jupiter, who was my ancestor, and Histia the Scythian queen. Instead of the presents which you require of earth and water, I will send you such as you better deserve: and in return for your calling yourself my master, I only bid you weep.”  
 —Such was the answer of the Scythian \*, which the ambassador related to Darius.

CXXXVIII. The very idea of servitude exasperated the Scythian princes; they accordingly dispatched that part of their army which was under Scopasis, together with the Sauromatæ, to solicit a conference with the Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; those who remained did not think it necessary any more to lead the Persians about, but regularly endeavoured to surprize them when at their meals; they watched, therefore, their proper opportunities, and executed their purpose. The Scythian horse never failed of driving back the cavalry of the Persians, but these last, in falling back upon their infantry, were always secured and supported. The Scythians, notwithstanding their advantage over the Persian horse, always retreated

\* *Answer of the Scythian.*]—To bid a person weep, was a kind of proverbial form of wishing him ill; thus Horace,

—— Demetri, teque Tigelli

Discipularum inter jubeo plorare cathedras.

Afterwards, the answer of the Scythians became a proverb to express the same wish; as was also the bidding a person eat onions.—See *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of Bias, and Erasmus in *Scythanim oratio*, and *cepas edere*.—T.



from the foot; they frequently, however, attacked them under cover of the night.

CXXIX. In these attacks of the Scythians upon the camp of Darius, the Persians had one advantage, which I shall explain—it arose from the braying of the asses, and appearance of the mules: I have before observed, that neither of these animals are produced in Scythia<sup>128</sup>, on account of the extreme cold. The braying, therefore, of the asses greatly distressed the Scythian horses, which as often as they attacked the Persians pricked up their ears and ran back, equally disturbed by a noise which they had never heard, and figures they had never seen: this was of some importance in the progress of hostilities.

CXXX. The Scythians discovering that the Persians were in extreme perplexity, hoped that by detaining them longer in their country, they should finally reduce them to the utmost distress: with this view, they occasionally left exposed some of their cattle with their shepherds, and artfully retired; of these, with much exultation, the Persians took possession.

CXXXI. This was again and again repeated;

<sup>128</sup> *Are produced in Scythia.*]—The Scythians nevertheless, if Clemens Alexandrinus may be believed, sacrificed asses; but it is not improbable that he confounded this people with the Hyperboreans, as he adduces in proof of his assertion a verse from Callimachus, which obviously refers to this latter people. We are also informed by Pindar, that the Hyperboreans sacrificed hecatombs of asses to Apollo.—*Larcher.*

Darius

Darius nevertheless became gradually in want of almost every necessary : the Scythian princes, knowing this, sent to him a messenger, with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows <sup>129</sup>, as a present. The Persians enquired of the bearer, what these might

<sup>129</sup> *A bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows.*]—This naturally brings to the mind of an Englishman a somewhat similar present, intended to irritate and provoke, best recorded and expressed by our immortal Shakespeare.—See his *Life of Henry the Fifth* :—

*French Ambassador.*—Thus then, in few ;—  
Your highness lately sending into France,  
Did claim some certain dukedoms, in the right  
Of your great predecessor Edward the Third ;  
In answer of which claim, the prince our master  
Says, that you favour too much of your youth,  
And bids you be advised—There's nought in France  
That can be with a nimble galliard won,  
You cannot revel into dukedoms there ;  
He therefore sends you, meeter for your spirit,  
This tun of treasure, and in lieu of this  
Desires you, let the dukedoms that you claim  
Hear no more of you.—Thus the Dauphin speaks.

*K. Henry.* What treasure, uncle ?

*Exet.*

Tennis-balls, my liege.

*K. Henry.* We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us :  
His present and your pains we thank you for.  
When we have match'd our rackets to these balls,  
We will in France, by God's grace, play a set  
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard.  
Tell him he hath made a match with such a wrangler,  
That all the courts of France will be disturb'd  
With chaces.

It may not be improper to remark, that of this enigmatical way of speaking and acting, the ancients appear to have been remarkably fond. In the Pythagorean school, the precept to ab-



might mean; but the man declared, that his orders were only to deliver them and return: he advised them, however, to exert their sagacity, and interpret the mystery.

CXXXII. The Persians accordingly held a consultation on the subject. Darius was of opinion, that the Scythians intended by this to express submission to him, and give him the earth and the water which he required. The mouse, as he explained it, was produced in the earth, and lived on the same food as man; the frog was a native of the water; the bird bore great resemblance to a horse<sup>130</sup>; and in giving the arrows they intimated the surrender of their power: this was the interpretation of Darius. Gobryas, however, one of the seven who had dethroned the Magus, thus interpreted the presents: “Men of Persia, unless like  
“birds ye shall mount into the air, like mice  
“take refuge in the earth, or like frogs leap into  
“the marshes, these arrows shall prevent the possibility of your return to the place from whence

stain from beans, *κνᾶμων ἀπὸ χισθαι*, involved the command of refraining from unlawful love; and in an epigram imputed to Virgil, the letter Y intimated a systematic attachment to virtue; this may be found in Lactantius, book vi. c. iii. The act of Tarquin, in striking off the heads from the tallest poppies in his garden is sufficiently notorious; and the fables of Æsop and of Phædrus may serve to prove that this partiality to allegory was not more universal than it was founded in a delicate and just conception of things.—T.

<sup>130</sup> *To a horse.*]—It is by no means easy to find out any resemblance which a bird bears to a horse, except, as Larcher observes, in swiftness, which is, however, very far-fetched.—T.

“you

“ you came.” This explanation was generally accepted.

CXXXIII. That detachment of the Scythians who had before been entrusted with the defence of the Palus Mœotis, but who were afterwards sent to the Ionians at the Ister, no sooner arrived at the bridge, than they thus spake: “ Men of Ionia, if  
“ you will but hearken to our words, we come to  
“ bring you liberty: we have been told, that Da-  
“ rius commanded you to guard this bridge for  
“ sixty days only; if in that time he should not  
“ appear, you were permitted to return home.  
“ Do this, and you will neither disobey him nor  
“ offend us: stay, therefore, till the time which he  
“ has appointed, and then depart.” With this injunction the Ionians promising to comply, the Scythians instantly retired.

CXXXIV. The rest of the Scythians having sent the present to Darius which we have described, opposed themselves to him, both horse and foot, in order of battle. Whilst they were in this situation a hare was seen in the space betwixt the two armies; the Scythians immediately pursued it with loud cries. Darius enquiring the cause of the tumult which he heard, was informed that the enemy were pursuing a hare; upon this, turning to some of his confidential attendants, “ These men,” he exclaimed, “ do, indeed, seem greatly to despise  
“ us; and Gobryas has properly interpreted the  
“ Scythian presents: I am now of the same opi-  
“ nion



“ nion myself, and it becomes us to exert all our  
 “ sagacity to effect a safe return to the place from  
 “ whence we came.” “ Indeed, Sir,” answered  
 Gobryas, “ I had before heard of the poverty of  
 “ this people, I have now clearly seen it, and can  
 “ perceive that they hold us in extreme con-  
 “ tempt. I would therefore advise, that as soon  
 “ as the night sets in we light our fires as usual ”;  
 “ and, the farther to delude the enemy, let us tie all  
 “ the asses together, and leave behind us the more  
 “ infirm of our forces; this done, let us retire, be-  
 “ fore the Scythians shall advance towards the  
 “ Ister, and break down the bridge, or before the  
 “ Ionians shall come to any resolution which may  
 “ cause our ruin.”

CXXXV. To this opinion of Gobryas Darius having acceded, as soon as the evening approach-  
 ed, the more infirm of the troops, and those whose  
 loss was deemed of little importance, were left  
 behind; all the asses also were secured together:  
 the motive for this was, the expectation that the  
 presence of those who remained would cause the  
 asses to bray as usual. The sick and infirm were de-

<sup>131</sup> *Fires as usual.*]—This incident is related, with very little variation, in the *Stratagemata* of Polyænus, a book which I may venture to recommend to all young students in Greek, from its entertaining matter, as well as from the easy elegance and purity of its style; indeed I cannot help expressing my surprize, that it should not yet have found its way into our public schools; it might, I think, be read with much advantage as preparatory to Xenophon.—T.

ferted, under the pretence, that whilst the king was marching with his best troops to engage the Scythians, they were to defend the camp. After circulating this report, the fires were lighted, and Darius with the greatest expedition directed his march towards the Ister: the asses, missing the usual multitude, made so much the greater noise, by hearing which the Scythians were induced to believe that the Persians still continued in their camp.

CXXXVI. When morning appeared, they who were left, perceiving themselves deserted by Darius, made signals to the Scythians, and explained their situation; upon which intelligence, the two divisions of the Scythians, forming a junction with the Sauromatæ, the Budini, and Geloni, advanced towards the Ister, in pursuit of the Persians; but as the Persian army consisted principally of foot, who were ignorant of the country, through which there were no regular paths; and as the Scythians were chiefly horse, and perfectly acquainted with the ways, they mutually missed of each other, and the Scythians arrived at the bridge much sooner than the Persians. Here, finding that the Persians were not yet come, they thus addressed the Ionians, who were on board their vessels:—"Ionians, " the number of days is now past, and you do " wrong in remaining here; if motives of fear " have hitherto detained you, you may now break " down the bridge, and having recovered your  
17/ " liberties,



“ liberties, be thankful to the gods and to us :  
 “ we will take care that he who was formerly  
 “ your master, shall never again make war upon  
 “ any one.”

CXXXVII. The Ionians being met in council upon this subject, Miltiades, the Athenian leader, and prince of the Chersonese<sup>132</sup>, on the Hellespont, was of opinion that the advice of the Scythians should be taken, and Ionia be thus relieved from servitude. Histiaëus, the Milesian, thought differently ; he represented, that through Darius each of them now enjoyed the sovereignty of their several cities ; that if the power of Darius was once taken away, neither he himself should continue supreme at Miletus, nor would any of them be able to retain their superiority : for it was evident that all their fellow-citizens would prefer a popular government to that of a tyrant. This argument appeared so forcible, that all they who had before assented to Miltiades, instantly adopted it.

CXXXVIII. They who acceded to this opinion were also in great estimation with the king.—Of the princes of the Hellespont, there were Daph-

<sup>132</sup> *Prince of the Chersonese* ]—All these petty princes had imposed chains upon their country, and were only supported in their usurpations by the Persians, whose interest it was to prefer a despotic government to a democracy ; this last would have been much less obsequious, and less prompt to obey their pleasure.—*Larcher*.

nis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampfacus <sup>133</sup>, Herophantus of Parium <sup>134</sup>, Metrodorus the Proconnesian <sup>135</sup>, Aristagoras of Cyzicum, and Ariston the Byzantian <sup>136</sup>. Amongst the Ionian leaders were  
Stratias

<sup>133</sup> *Lampfacus.*]—Lampfacus was first called Pityusa, on the Asia shore, nearly opposite to Gallipoli; this place was given to Themistocles, to furnish him with wine. Several great men amongst the ancients were natives of Lampfacus, and Epicurus lived here for some time.—*Pococke*.

From this place Priapus, who was here worshipped, took one of his names :

Et te ruricola Lampface tuta deo.—*Ovid*.

and from hence Lampfacius was made to signify wanton; see Martial, book ii. ep. 17.—

Nam mea Lampfacio lascivit pagina versu. *T*.

<sup>134</sup> *Parium.*]—Parium was built by the Milesians, Erythreans, and the people of the isle of Paros; it flourished much under the kings of Pergamus, of the race of Attalus, on account of the services this city did to that house.—*Pococke*.

It has been disputed whether Archilochos, the celebrated writer of Iambics, was a native of this place, or of the island of Paros. Horace says,

Parios ego primus iambos  
Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus  
Archilochi.

*T*.

<sup>135</sup> *Metrodorus the Proconnesian.*]—This personage must not be confounded with the celebrated philosopher of Chios, who asserted the eternity of the world. The ancients make mention of the old and new Proconnesus; the new Proconnesus is now called Marmora, the old is the island of Alonia.—*T*.

<sup>136</sup> *Ariston the Byzantian.*]—This is well known to be the modern Constantinople, and has been too often and too correctly described to require any thing from my pen. Its situation was  
perhaps



Stratias of Chios, Æacides of Samos, Laodamas the Phocæan, and Histiaëus the Milesian, whose opinion prevailed in the assembly, in opposition to that of Miltiades: the only Æolian of consequence who was present on this occasion, was Aristagoras of Cyme.

CXXXIX. These leaders, acceding to the opinion of Histiaëus, thought it would be adviseable to break down that part of the bridge which was towards Scythia, to the extent of a bow-shot. This, although it was of no real importance, would prevent the Scythians from passing the Ister on the bridge, and might induce them to believe that no inclination was wanting on the part of the Ionians, to comply with their wishes: accordingly, in the name of the rest, Histiaëus thus addressed them: “ Men of Scythia, we consider your advice as of  
“ consequence to our interest, and we take in good  
“ part your urging it upon us. You have shewn  
“ us the path which we ought to pursue, and we  
“ are readily disposed to follow it; we shall break  
“ down the bridge as you recommend, and in all  
“ things shall discover the most earnest zeal to se-

perhaps never better expressed, than in these two lines from Ovid:

Quaque tenent ponti Byzantia littora fauces  
Hic locus est gemini janua vasta maris.

This city was originally founded by Byzas, a reputed son of Neptune, 656 years before Christ. Perhaps the most minute and satisfactory account of every thing relating to Byzantium, may be found in Mr. Gibbon's history.—T.

“ cure

“ cure our liberties : in the mean time, whilst we  
 “ shall be thus employed, it becomes you to go in  
 “ pursuit of the enemy, and having found them,  
 “ revenge yourselves and us.”

CXL. The Scythians, placing an entire confidence in the promises of the Ionians, returned to the pursuit of the Persians; they did not, however, find them, for in that particular district they themselves had destroyed all the fodder for the horses, and corrupted all the springs, they might otherwise easily have found the Persians: and thus it happened, that the measure which at first promised them success became ultimately injurious. They directed their march to those parts of Scythia where they were secure of water and provisions for their horses; thinking themselves certain of here meeting with the enemy; but the Persian prince, following the track he had before pursued, found, though with the greatest difficulty, the place he aimed at: arriving at the bridge by night, and finding it broken down, he was exceedingly disheartened, and conceived himself abandoned by the Ionians.

CXLI. There was in the army of Darius an Ægyptian very remarkable for the loudness of his voice<sup>137</sup>: this man Darius ordered to advance to  
 the

<sup>137</sup> *Loudness of his voice.*]—By the use here made of this Ægyptian, and the particular mention of Stentor in the Iliad, it may be presumed that it was a customary thing for one or more such personages to be present on every military expedition. At



the banks of the Ister, and to pronounce with all his strength the name of "Histæus the Milesian;" Histæus immediately heard him, and approaching with all the fleet, enabled the Persians to repass, by again forming a bridge.

CXLII. By these means the Persians escaped, whilst the Scythians were a second time engaged in a long and fruitless pursuit. From this period the Scythians considered the Ionians as the basest and most contemptible of mankind, speaking of them as men attached to servitude, and incapable of freedom; and always using towards them the most reproachful terms.

the present day, perhaps, we may feel ourselves inclined to dispute the utility, or ridicule the appearance of such a character; but before the invention of artillery, and when the firm but silent discipline of the ancients, and of the Greeks in particular, is considered, such men might occasionally exert their talents with no despicable effect.

Heaven's empress mingles with the mortal crowd,  
And shouts in Stentor's sounding voice aloud;  
Stentor the strong, endued with brazen lungs,  
Whose throat surpass'd the force of fifty tongues.

The shouting of Achilles from the Grecian battlements, is represented to have had the power of impressing terror on the hearts of the boldest warriors, and of suspending a tumultuous and hard fought battle:

Forth march'd the chief, and distant from the crowd  
High on the rampart rais'd his voice aloud;  
With her own shout Minerva swells the sound;  
Troy starts astonish'd, and the shores rebound;  
So high his brazen voice the hero rear'd,  
Hoists drop their arms, and tremble as they heard.     T.

CXLIII.

CXLIII. Darius proceeding through Thrace, arrived at Seftos of the Chersonese, from whence he passed over into Asia: he left, however, some troops in Europe, under the command of Megabyzus<sup>138</sup>, a Persian, of whom it is reported, that one day in conversation the king spoke in terms of the highest honour.—He was about to eat some pomegranates, and having opened one, he was asked by his brother Artabanus, what thing there was which he would desire to possess in as great a quantity as there were seeds in the pomegranate<sup>139</sup>? “I would rather,” he replied, “have so many Megabyzi, than see Greece under my power.” This compliment he paid him publicly, and at this time he left him at the head of eighty thousand men.

CXLIV. This same person also, for a saying which I shall relate, left behind him in the Hellepont a name never to be forgotten. Being at Byzantium, he learned upon enquiry that the Chalcedonians<sup>140</sup> had built their city seventeen years before  
the

<sup>138</sup> *Megabyzus.*]—The text reads Megabazus, but Herodotus elsewhere says Megabyzus, which is supported by the best manuscripts.—T.

<sup>139</sup> *Seeds in the pomegranate.*]—Plutarch relates this incident in his apothegms of kings and illustrious generals, but applies it to Zopyrus, who by mangling his nose, and cutting off his ears, made himself master of Babylon.—T.

<sup>140</sup> *The Chalcedonians.*]—The promontory on which the ancient Chalcedon stood, is a very fine situation, being a gentle rising ground from the sea, with which it is almost bounded on three sides; further on the east side of it, is a small river which



the Byzantians had founded theirs: he observed, that the Chalcedonians must then have been blind, or otherwise, having the choice of a situation in all respects better, they would never have preferred one so very inferior.—Megabyzus being thus left with the command of the Hellespont, reduced all those who were in opposition to the Medes <sup>141</sup>.

CXLV. About the same time another great expedition was set on foot in Africa, the occasion of which I shall relate; it will be first necessary to premise this—The posterity of the Argonauts <sup>142</sup> having been expelled from Lemnos, by the Pelasgians, who had carried off from Brauron some Athenian women, sailed to Lacedæmon; they disembarked at Taygetus <sup>143</sup>, where they made a great fire.

falls into the little bay to the south, that seems to have been their port; so that Chalcedon would be esteemed a most delightful situation, if Constantinople was not so near it, which is indeed more advantageously situated.—*Pococke*.

<sup>141</sup> *The Medes.*]—Herodotus, and the greater part of the ancient writers, almost always comprehend the Persians under the name of Medes. Claudian says,

Remige Medo  
Sollicitatus Athos.

*Larcher.*

<sup>142</sup> *Posterity of the Argonauts.*]—An account of this incident, with many variations and additions, is to be found in Plutarch's Treatise on the Virtues of Women.—*T*.

<sup>143</sup> *Taygetus.*]—This was a very celebrated mountain of antiquity; it was sacred to Bacchus, for here, according to Virgil, the Spartan virgins acted the Bacchanal in his honour.

Virginibus

fire. The Lacedæmonians perceiving this, sent to enquire of them who and whence they were; they returned for answer that they were Minyæ, descendants of those heroes who, passing the ocean in the Argo, settled in Lemnos, and there begot them. When the Lacedæmonians heard this account of their descent, they sent a second messenger, enquiring what was the meaning of the fire they had made, and what their intentions by coming among them. Their reply was to this effect, that being expelled by the Pelasgians, they had returned, as was reasonable, to the country of their ancestors, and were desirous to fix their residence with them, as partakers of their lands and honours. The Lacedæmonians expressed themselves willing to receive them upon their own terms; and they were induced to this as well from other considerations, as because the Tyndaridæ<sup>144</sup> had sailed in the Argo; they accordingly admitted the Minyæ among them, assigned them lands, and distributed them among their tribes. The Minyæ in return parted with the women whom they had brought from Lemnos, and connected themselves in marriage with others.

Virginibus Bacchata Lacænis  
Taygeta.

Its dogs are also mentioned by Virgil, Taygetique canes; though perhaps this may poetically be used for Spartan dogs.  
—T.

<sup>144</sup> *Tyndaridæ*.]—Castor and Pollux, so called from Tyndarus, the husband of their mother Leda.—T.



CXLVI. In a very short time these Minyæ became distinguished for their intemperance, making themselves not only dangerous from their ambition, but odious by their vices. The Lacedæmonians conceived their enormities worthy of death, and accordingly cast them into prison: it is to be remarked, that this people always inflict capital punishments by night, never by day. When things were in this situation, the wives of the prisoners, who were natives of the country, and the daughters of the principal citizens, solicited permission to visit their husbands in confinement; as no stratagem was suspected, this was granted. The wives of the Minyæ<sup>145</sup> accordingly entered the prison, and exchanged dresses with their husbands: by this artifice they effected their escape, and again took refuge on Taygetus.

CXLVII. It was about this time that Theras<sup>146</sup>, the son of Autesion, was sent from Lacedæmon to establish a colony: Autesion was the son of Tisamenus, grandson of Thersander, great-grandson of Polynices. This Theras was of the Cadmean family, uncle of Eurysthene and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus: during the minority of his

<sup>145</sup> *The wives of the Minyæ.*]—This story is related at some length by Valerius Maximus, book iv. chap. 6, in which he treats of conjugal affection. The same author tells us of Hippsicratea, the beloved wife of Mithridates, who to gratify her husband, assumed and constantly wore the habit of a man.—T.

<sup>146</sup> *Theras.*]—This personage was the sixth descendant from Œdipus.—T.

nephews the regency of Sparta was confided to him. When his sisters sons grew up, and he was obliged to resign his power, he was little inclined to acknowledge superiority where he had been accustomed to exercise it; he therefore refused to remain in Sparta, but determined to join his relations. In the island now called Thera, but formerly Callista, the posterity of Membliares, son of Pœciles <sup>147</sup> the Phœnician, resided: to this place Cadmus, son of Agenor, was driven, when in search of Europa; and either from partiality to the country, or from prejudice of one kind or other, he left there, among other Phœnicians, Membliares <sup>148</sup> his relation. These men inhabited the island of Callista eight years before Theras arrived from Lacedæmon.

CXLVIII. To this people Theras came, with a select number from the different Spartan tribes: he

<sup>147</sup> *Pœciles*.]—M. Larcher makes no scruple of translating this Procles; and in a very elaborate note attempts to establish his opinion, that this must be an abbreviation for Patroclus: but as, by the confession of this ingenious and learned Frenchman, the authorities of Herodotus, Pausanias, Apollodorus, and Porphyry, are against the reading, even of Procles for Pœciles, it has too much the appearance of sacrificing plain sense and probability at the shrines of prejudice and system, for me to adopt it without any thing like conviction.—T.

<sup>148</sup> *Membliares*.]—Pausanias differs from Herodotus in his account of the descent of Membliares; he represents him as a man of very mean origin: to mark these little deviations, may not perhaps be of consequence to the generality of English readers, but none surely will be displeased at being informed, where, if they think proper, they may compare what different authors have said upon the same subject.—T.



had no hostile views, but a sincere wish to dwell with them on terms of amity. The Minyæ having escaped from prison, and taken refuge on mount Taygetus, the Lacedæmonians were still determined to put them to death; Theras, however, interceded in their behalf, and engaged to prevail on them to quit their situation. His proposal was accepted, and accordingly, with three vessels of thirty oars, he sailed to join the descendants of Membliaræ, taking with him only a small number of the Minyæ. The far greater part of them had made an attack upon the Paroreatæ, and the Caucons, and expelled them from their country; dividing themselves afterwards into six bodies, they built the same number of towns, namely, Lepreus, Magistus, Thrixas, Pyrgus, Epius, and Nudius: of these, the greater part have in my time been destroyed by the Eleans.—The island before mentioned is called Theras, from the name of its founder.

CXLIX. The son of Theras refusing to sail with him, his father left him, as he himself observed, a sheep amongst wolves; from which saying the young man got the name of Oiolykus, which he ever afterwards retained. Oiolykus had a son named Ægeus, who gave his name to the Ægidæ, a considerable Spartan tribe, who finding themselves in danger of leaving no posterity behind them, built, by the direction of the oracle, a shrine to the Furies<sup>149</sup>  
of

<sup>149</sup> *The Furies.*]—With a view to the information and amusement

of Laius and Œdipus; this succeeded to their wish. A circumstance similar to this happened afterwards

ment of the English reader, I subjoin a few particulars concerning the Furies.

They were three in number, the daughters of Night and Acheron: some have added a fourth; their names Alesto, Tisiphone, and Megæra; their residence in the infernal regions; their office to torment the wicked.

They were worshipped at Athens, and first of all by Orestes, when acquitted by the Areopagites of matricide. Æschylus was the first person who represented them as having snakes instead of hair. Their name in heaven was Diræ, from the Greek word Διραι, transposing ε for ν: on earth they were called Furæ and Eumenides; their name in the regions below was Stygiæ Canes. The ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, abound with passages descriptive of their attributes and influence: the following animated apostrophe to them, is from Æschylus—Mr. Potter's version.

See this griev'd troop,  
Sleep has oppress'd them, and their baffled rage  
Shall fail.—Grim-visag'd hags, grown old  
In loath'd virginity: nor god nor man  
Approach'd their bed, nor savage of the wilds;  
For they were born for mischiefs, and their haunts  
In dreary darknefs, 'midst the yawning gulphs  
Of Tartarus beneath, by men abhorr'd,  
And by the Olympian gods.

After giving the above quotation from Æschylus, it may not be unnecessary to add, that the three whom I have specified by name, were only the three principal, or supreme of many furies. Here the furies of Laius and Œdipus are mentioned, because particular furies were, as it seems, supposed ready to avenge the murder of every individual;

Thee may th' Erinnyes of thy sons destroy.

*Eurip. Medea. Potter, 1523.*



afterwards in the island of Thera, to the descendants of this tribe.

CL. Thus far the accounts of the Lacedæmonians and Thereans agree; what follows, is related on the authority of the latter only:—Grinus, son of Æsanius, and descended from the above Theras, was prince of the island; he went to Delphi, carrying with him an hecatomb for sacrifice, and accompanied, amongst other of his citizens, by Battus the son of Polymnestus, of the family of Euthymus a Minyan; Grinus, consulting the oracle about somewhat of a different nature, was commanded by the Pythian to build a city in Africa. “I,” replied the prince “am too old and too infirm for such an undertaking; suffer it to devolve on some of these younger persons who accompany me;” at the same time he pointed to Battus. On their return they paid no regard to the injunction of the oracle, being both ignorant of the situation of Africa, and not caring to send from them a colony on so precarious an adventure.

Or the manes themselves became furies for that purpose:

‘Their shades shall pour their vengeance on thy head.

*Ib.* 1503.

Orestes in his madness calls Electra one of his furies; that is, one of those which attended to torment him:

Off, let me go: I know thee who thou art,  
One of *my* furies, and thou grapplest with me,  
To whirl me into Tartarus.—Avaunt!

*Orestes*, 270.

It stands at present in the version *the* furies, which is wrong.

CLI.

CLI. For seven years after the above event it never rained in Thera; in consequence of which every tree in the place perished, except one. The inhabitants consulted the oracle, when the sending a colony to Africa was again recommended by the Pythian: as therefore no alternative remained, they sent some emissaries into Crete, to enquire whether any of the natives or strangers residing amongst them had ever visited Africa. The persons employed on this occasion, after going over the whole island, came at length to the city Itanus<sup>150</sup>, where they became acquainted with a certain dyer of purple, whose name was Corobius; this man informed them, that he was once driven by contrary winds into Africa, and had landed there, on the island of Platea: they therefore bargained with him for a certain sum, to accompany them to Thera. Very few were induced to leave Thera upon this business; they who did go were conducted by Corobius, who was left upon the island he had described, with provisions for some months; the rest of the party made their way back by sea as expeditiously as possible, to acquaint the Thereans with the event,

CLII. By their omitting to return at the time appointed, Corobius was reduced to the greatest

<sup>150</sup> *Itanus.*]—Some of the dictionaries inform, that this place is now called Paleo-Castro; but Savary, in his Letters on Greece, remarks, that the modern Greeks give this name to all ancient places.—T,

distress;



distress; it happened, however, that a Samian vessel, whose commander's name was Colæus, was, in its course towards Ægypt, driven upon the island of Platea; these Samians, hearing the story of Corobius, left him provisions for a twelvemonth. On leaving this island, with a wish to go to Ægypt, the winds compelled them to take their course westward, and continuing without intermission, carried them beyond the columns of Hercules, till, as it should seem by somewhat more than human interposition, they arrived at Tartessus<sup>151</sup>. As this was a port then but little known, their voyage ultimately proved very advantageous; so that, excepting Sostrates, with whom there can be no competition, no Greeks were ever before so fortunate in any commercial undertaking. With six talents, which was a tenth part of what they gained, the Samians made a brazen vase, in the shape of an Argolic goblet, round the brim of which the heads of griffins<sup>152</sup> were regularly disposed: this was deposited

<sup>151</sup> *Tartessus.*]—This place is called by Ptolemy, Cateia, and is seen in d'Anville's maps under that name, at the entrance of the Mediterranean: mention is made in Ovid of *Tartessia litorea*.—7.

<sup>152</sup> *Griffins.*]—In a former note upon this word I neglected to inform the reader, that in Sir Thomas Brown's *Vulgar Errors* there is a chapter upon the subject of griffins, very curious and entertaining, p. 142. This author satisfactorily explains the Greek word Γρυψ or Gryps, to mean no more than a particular kind of eagle or vulture: being compounded of a lion and an eagle, it is a happy emblem of valour and magnanimity, and therefore applicable to princes, generals, &c. and from

sited in the temple of Juno, where it is supported by three colossal figures, seven cubits high, resting on their knees. . This was the first occasion of the particular intimacy, which afterwards subsisted between the Samians and the people of Cyrene and Thera.

CLIII. The Thereans having left Corobius behind, returned and informed their countrymen that they had made a settlement in an island belonging to Africa: they, in consequence, determined, that from each of their seven cities a select number should be sent, and that if these happened to be brothers, it should be determined by lot who should go; and that finally, Battus should be their prince and leader: they sent accordingly to Platea two ships of fifty oars.

CLIV. With this account, as given by the Thereans, the Cyreneans agree, except in what relates to Battus; here they differ exceedingly, and tell, in contradiction, the following history:—There is a town in Crete, named Oaxus, where Etearchus was once king; having lost his wife, by whom he had a daughter, called Phronima, he married a second time: no sooner did his last wife take possession of his house, than she proved herself to Phronima a step-mother indeed. Not content with injuring her by every species of cruelty and ill-treat-

from this it is borne in the coat of arms of many noble families in Europe.—T.

ment,



ment, she at length upbraided her with being unchaste, and persuaded her husband to believe so. Deluded by the artifice of his wife, he perpetrated the following act of barbarity against his daughter: there was at Oaxus a merchant of Thera, whose name was Themison; of him, after shewing him the usual rites of hospitality, he exacted an oath that he would comply with whatever he should require; having done this, he delivered him his daughter, ordering him to throw her into the sea. Themison reflected with unfeigned sorrow on the artifice which had been practised upon him, and the obligation imposed; he determined, however, what to do: he took the damsel, and having sailed to some distance from land, to fulfil his oath, secured a rope about her, and plunged her into the sea; but he immediately took her out again, and carried her to Thera.

CLV. Here Polymnestus, a Therean of some importance, took Phronima to be his concubine, and after a certain time had by her a son, remarkable for his shrill and stammering voice: his name, as the Thereans and Cyreneans assert, was Battus<sup>153</sup>, but I think it was something else. He was  
not,

<sup>153</sup> *Battus.*]—Battus, according to Hesychius, also signifies, in the Lybian tongue, a king: from this person, and his defect of pronunciation, comes, according to Suidas, the word *βατταριζέω*, to stammer. There was also an ancient foolish poet of this name, from whom, according to the same authority, *βαττολογία* signified an unmeaning redundance of expression. Neither must the  
Battus

not, I think, called Battus till after his arrival in Africa; he was then so named, either on account of the answer of the oracle, or from the subsequent dignity which he attained. Battus, in the African tongue, signifies a prince; and I should think that the Pythian, foreseeing he was to reign in Africa, distinguished him by this African title. As soon as he grew up he went to Delphi, to consult the oracle concerning the imperfection of his voice: the answer he received was this:

Hence, Battus! of your voice enquire no more;  
But found a city on the Lybian shore.

This is the same as if she had said in Greek, "Enquire no more, Oh king, concerning your voice." To this Battus replied, "Oh king, I came to you on account of my infirmity of tongue; you, in return, impose upon me an undertaking which is impossible; for how can I, who have neither forces nor money, establish a colony in Africa?" He could not, however, obtain any other answer, which, when he found to be the case, he returned to Thera.

CLVI. Not long afterwards he, with the rest of the Thereans, were visited by many and great calamities; and not knowing to what cause they should impute them, they sent to Delphi, to consult the oracle on

Battus here mentioned be confounded with the Battus whom Mercury turned into an index, and whose story is so well told by Ovid.—*T.*

the



the subject. The Pythian informed them, that if they would colonize Cyrene in Africa, under the conduct of Battus, things would certainly go better with them; they accordingly dispatched Battus to accomplish this, with two fifty-oared vessels. These men acting from compulsion, set sail for Africa, but soon returned to Thera; but the Thereans forcibly preventing their landing, ordered them to return from whence they came. Thus circumstanced, they again set sail, and founded a city in an island contiguous to Africa, called, as we have before remarked, Platea<sup>154</sup>; this city is said to be equal in size to that in which the Cyreneans now reside.

CLVII. They continued in this place for the space of two years, but finding their ill fortune still pursue them, they again sailed to Delphi to enquire of the oracle, leaving only one of their party behind them: when they desired to know why, having established themselves in Africa, they had experienced no favourable reverse of fortune, the Pythian made them this answer:—

Know'st thou then Lybia better than the God,  
Whose fertile shores thy feet have never trod?  
He who has well explor'd them thus replies;  
I can but wonder at a man so wise!

<sup>154</sup> Platea.]—This name is written also *Platæa*: Stephanus Byzantinus has it both in that form, and also *Platæa* or *Platæia*. Pliny speaks of three *Plateas*, and a *Plate*, off the coast of Troas; but they must have been very inconsiderable spots, and have not been mentioned by any other author. The best editions of Herodotus read *Platæa* here; but I suspect *Platæia* to be right, for Scylax has it so as well as Stephanus.—The place of the celebrated battle in Boeotia was *Platææ*.

On hearing this, Battus, and they who were with him, again returned; for the deity still persevered in requiring them to form a settlement in Africa, where they had not yet been: touching, therefore, at Platea, they took on board him whom they had left, and established their colony in Africa itself. The place they selected was Aziris, immediately opposite to where they had before resided; two sides of which were enclosed by a beautiful range of hills, and a third agreeably watered by a river.

CLVIII. At this place they continued six years; when at the desire of the Africans, who promised to conduct them to a better situation, they removed. The Africans accordingly became their guides, and had so concerted the matter, as to take care that the Greeks should pass through the most beautiful part of their country by night: the direction they took was westward, the name of the country they were not permitted to see was Trasa.—They came at length to what is called the fountain of Apollo<sup>155</sup>:—"Men of Greece," said the Africans, "the heavens are here opened to you, and here it will be proper for you to reside."

CLIX. During the life of Battus, who reigned forty years, and under Arcefilaus his son,

<sup>155</sup> *Fountain of Apollo.*]—The name of this fountain was Cyre, from which the town of Cyrène had afterwards its name. Herodotus calls it, in the subsequent paragraph, Thestis, but there were probably many fountains in this place.—*Larcher.*



who reigned sixteen, the Cyreneans remained in this colony without any alteration with respect to their numbers: but under their third prince, who was also called Battus, and who was surnamed the Happy, the Pythian, by her declarations, excited a general propensity in the Greeks to migrate to Africa, and join themselves to the Cyreneans. The Cyreneans, indeed, had invited them to a share of their possessions, but the oracle had also thus expressed itself:

Who seeks not Libya 'till the lands are shar'd,  
Let him for sad repentance stand prepar'd.

The Greeks, therefore, in great numbers, settled themselves at Cyrene. The neighbouring Africans, with their king Adicran, seeing themselves injuriously deprived of a considerable part of their lands, and exposed to much insulting treatment, made a tender of themselves and their country to Apries, sovereign of Ægypt: this prince assembled a numerous army of Ægyptians, and sent them to attack Cyrene. The Cyreneans drew themselves up at Irafra, near the fountain Theftis, and in a fixed battle routed the Ægyptians, who till now, from their ignorance, had despised the Grecian power. The battle was so decisive, that very few of the Ægyptians returned to their country; they were on this account so exasperated against Apries, that they revolted from his authority.

CLX. Arcefilaus, the son of this Battus, succeeded

ed to the throne; he was at first engaged in some contest with his brothers; but they removed themselves from him to another part of Africa, where, after some deliberation, they founded a city. They called it Barce, which name it still retains. Whilst they were employed upon this business, they endeavoured to excite the Africans against the Cyreneans. Arcefilaus without hesitation commenced hostilities both against those who had revolted from him, and against the Africans who had received them; intimidated by which, these latter fled to their countrymen, who were situated more to the east: Arcefilaus persevered in pursuing them till he arrived at Leucon, and here the Africans discovered an inclination to try the event of a battle. They accordingly engaged, and the Cyreneans were so effectually routed, that seven thousand of their men in arms fell in the field. Arcefilaus, after this calamity, fell sick, and was strangled by his brother Aliarchus, whilst in the act of taking some medicine. The wife of Arcefilaus, whose name was Eryxo <sup>156</sup>, revenged by some stratagem on his murderer the death of her husband.

CLXI. Arcefilaus was succeeded in his authority by his son Battus, a boy who was lame, and had otherwise an infirmity in his feet. The Cy-

<sup>156</sup> Eryxo.]—The story is related at considerable length by Plutarch, in his treatise on the virtues of women. Instead of Aliarchus, he reads Learchus; the woman he calls Eryxene; and the murderer he supposes to have been not the brother, but the friend of Arcefilaus.—T.



reneans, afflicted by their recent calamities, sent to Delphi, desiring to know what system of life would most effectually secure their tranquillity. The Pythian in reply recommended them to procure from Mantinea<sup>157</sup>, in Arcadia, some one to compose their disturbances. Accordingly, at the request of the Cyreneans, the Mantineans sent them Demonax, a man who enjoyed the universal esteem of his countrymen. Arriving at Cyrene, his first care was to make himself acquainted with their affairs; he then divided the people into three distinct tribes: the first comprehended the Thereans and their neighbours; the second the Peloponnesians and Cretans; the third all the inhabitants of the islands. He assigned a certain portion of land, with some distinct privileges, to Battus; but all the other advantages which the kings had before arrogated to themselves, he gave to the power of the people.

CLXII. In this situation things remained during the life of Battus: but in the time of his son an ambitious struggle for power was the occasion of great disturbances. Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus, by Pheretime, refused to submit to the regulations of Demonax the Mantinean, and demanded to be restored to the dignity of his ancestors. A great tumult was excited, but the consequence was, that Arcesilaus was compelled to take refuge at Samos, whilst his mother Pheretime fled to Salamis

<sup>157</sup> *Mantineia*.]—This place became celebrated by the death of Epaminondas, the great Theban general, who was here slain.  
—T.

in Cyprus. Euelthon had at this time the government of Salamis: the same person who dedicated at Delphi a most beautiful censer now deposited in the Corinthian treasury. To him Pheretime made application, intreating him to lead an army against Cyrene, for the purpose of restoring her and her son. He made her many presents, but refused to assist her with an army. Pheretime accepted his liberality with thanks, but endeavoured to convince him that his assisting her with forces would be much more honourable. Upon her persevering in this request, after every present she received, Euelthon was at length induced to send her a gold spindle, and a distaff with wool; observing, that for a woman this was a more suitable present than an army.

CLXIII. In the mean time Arcesilaus was indefatigable at Samos; by promising a division of lands, he assembled a numerous army: he then sailed to Delphi, to make enquiry concerning the event of his return. The Pythian made him this answer: “ To four Batti<sup>158</sup>, and to as many of  
 “ the name of Arcesilaus, Apollo has granted the  
 “ dominion of Cyrene. Beyond these eight generations the deity forbids even the attempt to

<sup>158</sup> *To four Batti.*]—According to the Scholiast on Pindar, the Battiades reigned at Cyrene for the space of two hundred years. Battus, son of the last of these, endeavoured to assume the government, but the Cyreneans drove him from their country, and he retired to the Hesperides, where he finished his days.—*Larcher.*



“ reign: to you it is recommended to return, and  
“ live tranquilly at home. If you happen to find  
“ a furnace filled with earthen vessels, do not suffer  
“ them to be baked, but throw them into the air:  
“ if you set fire to the furnace, beware of entering  
“ a place surrounded by water. This injunction,  
“ if you disregard, you will perish yourself, as will  
“ also a very beautiful bull.”

CLXIV. The Pythian made this reply to Arcefilaus: he however returned to Cyrene with the forces he had raised at Samos; and having recovered his authority, thought no more of the oracle. He proceeded to institute a persecution against those who taking up arms against him had compelled him to fly. Some of these sought and found a refuge in exile, others were taken into custody and sent to Cyprus, to undergo the punishment of death. These the Cnidians delivered, for they touched at their island in their passage, and they were afterwards transported to Thera: a number of them fled to a large tower, the property of an individual named Aglomachus, but Arcefilaus destroyed them, tower and all, by fire. No sooner had he perpetrated this deed than he remembered the declaration of the oracle, which forbade him to set fire to a furnace filled with earthen vessels: fearing therefore to suffer for what he had done, he retired from Cyrene, which place he considered as surrounded by water. He had married a relation, the daughter of Alazir, king of Barce, to him therefore he went; but upon his appearing in public, the Barceans, in  
conjunction

conjunction with some Cyrenean fugitives, put him to death, together with Alazir his father-in-law. Such was the fate of Arcefilaus, he having, designedly or from accident, violated the injunctions of the oracle.

CLXV. Whilst the son was thus hastening his destiny at Barce, Pheretime<sup>159</sup> his mother enjoyed at Cyrene the supreme authority; and amongst other regal acts presided in the senate. But as soon as she received intelligence of the death of Arcefilaus, she sought refuge in Ægypt. Her son had some claims upon the liberality of Cambyfes, son of Cyrus; he had delivered Cyrene into his power, and paid him tribute. On her arrival in Ægypt, she presented herself before Aryandes in the character of a suppliant, and besought him to revenge her cause, pretending that her son had lost his life merely on account of his attachment to the Medes.

CLXVI. This Aryandes had been appointed præfect of Ægypt by Cambyfes; but afterwards, presuming to rival Darius, he was by him put to death. He had heard, and indeed he had seen, that Darius was desirous to leave some monument of himself, which should exceed all the efforts of his predecessors. He thought proper to attempt somewhat similar, but it cost him his life. Darius had

<sup>159</sup> *Pheretime.*]—See this story well related in the *Stratagemata* of Polyænus, book viii. c. 47.—*T.*



issued a coin <sup>160</sup> of the very purest gold: the præfect of Ægypt issued one of the purest silver, and called it an Aryandic. It may still be seen, and is much admired for its purity. Darius hearing of this, condemned him to death, pretending that he had rebelled against him.

<sup>160</sup> *Darius had issued a coin.*]—"About the same time seem to have been coined those famous pieces of gold called Darics, which by reason of their fineness were for several ages preferred before all other coin throughout the east: for we are told that the author of this coin was not Darius Hystaspes, as some have imagined, but a more ancient Darius. But there is no ancienter Darius mentioned to have reigned in the east, excepting only this Darius, whom the scripture calls Darius the Median; and therefore it is most likely he was the author of this coin, and that during the two years that he reigned at Babylon, while Cyrus was absent on his Syrian, Ægyptian, and other expeditions, he caused it to be made there out of the vast quantity of gold which had been brought thither into the treasury; from hence it became dispersed all over the east, and also into Greece, where it was of great reputation: according to Dr. Bernard, it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas, but the fineness added much more to its value; for it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at least very little, alloy in it; and therefore may be well reckoned, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us, to be worth twenty-five shillings of our money. In those parts of the scripture which were written after the Babylonish captivity, these pieces are mentioned by the name of Adarkonim; and in the Talmudists, by the name of Darkoneth, both from the Greek *Δαρικαι*, Darics. And it is to be observed, that all those pieces of gold which were afterwards coined of the same weight and value by the succeeding kings, not only of the Persian but also of the Macedonian race, were all called Darics, from the Darius who was the first author of them. And there were either whole Darics or half Darics, as with us there are guineas and half-guineas."—*Prideaux.*

CLXVII. At this time Aryandes, taking compassion on Pheretime, delivered to her command all the land and sea forces of Ægypt. To Amasis, a Maraphian, he entrusted the conduct of the army; and Badre, a Pasargadian <sup>161</sup> by birth, had the direction of the fleet. Before however they proceeded on any expedition, a herald was dispatched to Barce, demanding the name of the person who had assassinated Arcefilaus. The Barceans replied, that they were equally concerned, for he had repeatedly injured them all. Having received this answer, Aryandes permitted his forces to proceed with Pheretime.

CLXVIII. This was the pretence with Aryandes for commencing hostilities; but I am rather inclined to think that he had the subjection of the Africans in view. The nations of Africa are many and various; few of them had ever submitted to Darius, and most of them held him in contempt. Beginning from Ægypt, the Africans are to be enumerated in the order following.—The first are the Adyrmachidæ, whose manners are in every respect Ægyptian; their dress African. On each leg their wives wear a ring of brass. They suffer their hair to grow; if they catch any fleas upon their bodies, they first bite and then throw them away. They are the only people of Africa who do this.

<sup>161</sup> *Pasargadian.*—There was a city in Persia called Pasargada, which doubtless gave its name to the nation of Pasargades.—The place is now, in the Arabian tongue, called Data-begend.—T.



It is also peculiar to them to present their daughters to the king just before their marriage<sup>162</sup>, who may enjoy the persons of such as are agreeable to him. The Adyrmachidæ occupy the country between Ægypt and the port of Pleunos.

CLXIX. Next to these are the Giligammæ, who dwell towards the west as far as the island of Aphrodisias. In the midst of this region is the island of Platea, which the Cyreneans built. The harbour of Menelaus and Aziris, possessed also by the Cyreneans, is upon the continent. Silphium<sup>163</sup> begins

<sup>162</sup> *Before their marriage.*].—A play of Beaumont and Fletcher is founded upon the idea of this obscene and unnatural custom. The following note is by Mr. Theobald upon the “Custom of the Country.” *Beaumont and Fletch.* 1778.

The custom on which a main part of the plot of this comedy is built, prevailed at one time, as Bayle tells us, in Italy, till it was put down by a prudent and truly pious cardinal. It is likewise generally imagined to have obtained in Scotland for a long time; and the received opinion hath hitherto been, that Eugenius, the third king of Scotland, who began his reign A. D. 535, ordained that the lord or master should have the first night's lodging with every woman married to his tenant or bondsmen. This obscene ordinance is supposed to have been abrogated by Malcolm the third, who began his reign A. D. 1061, about five years before the Norman Conquest, having lasted in force somewhat above five hundred years.—See Blount in his Law Dictionary, under the word Mercheta. Another commentator remarks, that Sir David Dalrymple denies the existence of this custom in Scotland.—Judge Blackstone is of opinion that this custom never prevailed in England, but that it certainly did in Scotland.

<sup>163</sup> *Silphium.*].—Either M. Larcher or myself must be grossly mistaken in the interpretation of this passage. “The plant Silphium,”

x See Notes to Sir W. Scott's  
Lord of the Isles

begins where these terminate, and is continued from Platea to the mouth of the Syrtes <sup>164</sup>. The manners

Silphium," says his version, "begins in this place to be found, and is continued," &c. This in my opinion neither agrees with the context, nor is in itself at all probable. In various authors mention is made of the Silphii, and reference is made by them to this particular passage of Herodotus.—*T.*

<sup>164</sup> *Syrtes.*]—The Great Syrtes must be here meant, which is in the neighbourhood of Barce, and nearer Ægypt than the Small Syrtes.—*Larcher.*

There were the Greater and the Lesser Syrtes, and both deemed very formidable to navigators. Their nature has never been better described than in the following lines from Lucan, which I give the reader in Rowe's version.

When nature's hand the first formation try'd,  
 When seas from lands she did at first divide,  
 The Syrts, not quite of sea nor land bereft,  
 A mingled mass uncertain still she left;  
 For nor the land with sea is quite o'erspread,  
 Nor sink the waters deep their oozy bed,  
 Nor earth defends its shore, nor lifts aloft its head;  
 The scite with neither, and with each complies,  
 Doubtful and inaccessible it lies;  
 Or 'tis a sea with shallows bank'd around,  
 Or 'tis a broken land with waters drown'd:  
 Here shores advanc'd o'er Neptune's rule we find,  
 And there an inland ocean lags behind;  
 Thus nature's purpose, by herself destroy'd,  
 Is useless to herself, and unemploy'd,  
 And part of her creation still is void.  
 Perhaps, when first the world and time began,  
 Her swelling tides and plenteous waters ran;  
 But long confining on the burning zone,  
 The sinking seas have felt the neighbouring sun;  
 Still by degrees we see how they decay,  
 And scarce resist the thirsty god of day.

Perhaps,



ners of these people nearly resemble those of their neighbours.

CLXX. From the west, and immediately next to the Giligammæ, are the Asbystæ. They are above Cyrene, but have no communication with the sea coasts, which are occupied by the Cyreneans: They are beyond all the Africans remarkable for their use of chariots drawn by four horses; and in most respects they imitate the manners of the Cyreneans.

CLXXI. On the western borders of this people dwell the Aufchisæ; their district commences above Barce, and is continued to the sea, near the Euesperides. The Cabales, an inconsiderable nation, inhabit towards the centre of the Aufchisæ, and extend themselves to the sea coast near Taurichira, a town belonging to Barce. The Cabales have the same customs as the people beyond Cyrene.

CLXXII. The powerful nation of the Nasamones border on the Aufchisæ towards the west. This people during the summer season leave their cattle on the sea coast, and go up the country to a place called Augila to gather dates. Upon this

Perhaps, in distant ages 'twill be found,  
When future suns have run the burning round,  
These Syrts shall all be dry and solid ground:  
Small are the depths their scanty waves retain,  
And earth grows daily on the yielding main.

}

spot

spot the palms are equally numerous, large, and fruitful: they also hunt for locusts <sup>165</sup>, which having dried in the sun, they reduce them to a powder, and eat mixed with milk. Each person is allowed to have several wives, with whom they cohabit in the manner of the Massagetæ, first fixing a staff in the earth before their tent. When the Nasamones marry, the bride on the first night permits every one of the guests to enjoy her person, each of whom makes her a present brought with him for the purpose. Their mode of divination and of taking an oath is this: they place their hands on the tombs <sup>166</sup> of those who have been most eminent for their integrity and virtue, and swear by their names,

<sup>165</sup> *Locusts.*]—The circumstance of locusts being dried and kept for provision, I have before mentioned: the following apposite passage having since occurred to me from Niebuhr, I think proper to insert it.

On vendit dans tous les marchés des sauterelles à vil prix: car elles étoient si prodigieusement repandues dans la plaine près de Jerim, qu'on pouvoit les prendre à pleines mains. Nous vîmes un paysan qui en avoit rempli un sac, et qui alloit les secher pour sa provision d'hiver.

<sup>166</sup> *On the tombs.*]—The following singular remark from Niebuhr seems particularly applicable in this place.

Un marchand de la Mecque me fit sur ses saints une réflexion, qui me surprit dans la bouche d'un Mahométan. “ Il faut toujours à la populace,” me dit-il, “ un objet visible qu'elle puisse honorer et craindre. C'est ainsi qu'à la Mecque tous les sermens se font au nom de Mahomet, au lieu qu'on devroit s'adresser à Dieu. A Molcha je ne me fierois pas à un homme qui affirmeroit une chose en prenant Dieu à témoin; mais je pourrois compter plutôt sur la foi de celui qui jüreroit par le nom de Schaedeli, dont la mosquée et le tombeau sont sous ses yeux.”

When.



When they exercise divination, they approach the monuments of their ancestors, and there, having said their prayers, compose themselves to sleep. They regulate their subsequent conduct by such visions as they may then have. When they pledge their word, they drink alternately from each other's hands <sup>167</sup>. If no liquid is near, they take some dust from the ground, and lick it with their tongue.

CLXXIII. Next to the Nasamones are the Pfylli <sup>168</sup>, who formerly perished by the following accident:

<sup>167</sup> *Each other's hands.*]—The ancient ceremony of the Nasamones to drink from each other's hands, in pledging their faith, is at the present period the only ceremony observed in the marriages of the Algerines.—*Sbaro*.

<sup>168</sup> *The Pfylli.*]—A measure like this would have been preposterous in the extreme. Herodotus therefore does not credit it: "I only relate," says he, "what the Africans inform me," which are the terms always used by our historian when he communicates any dubious matter. It seems very probable that the Nasamones destroyed the Pfylli to possess their country, and that they circulated this fable amongst their neighbours.—See *Pliny*, book vii. chapter 2.—*Larcher*.

Herodotus makes no mention of the quality which these people possessed, and which in subsequent times rendered them so celebrated, that of managing serpents with such wonderful dexterity.—See *Lucan*, book ix. Rowe's version, line 1523.

Of all who scorching Afric's sun endure,  
None like the swarthy Pfyllians are secure.  
Skill'd in the lore of powerful herbs and charms,  
Them, nor the serpent's tooth nor poison harms;  
Nor do they thus in arts alone excel,  
But nature too their blood has temper'd well,  
And taught with vital force the venom to repel.

§

}  
With

accident: A south wind had dried up all their reservoirs, and the whole country, as far as the Syrtes, was destitute of water. They resolved accordingly, after a public consultation, to make a hostile expedition against this south wind; the consequence was (I only relate what the Africans inform me) that on their arrival in the deserts, the south wind overwhelmed them beneath the sands. The Pŷylli being thus destroyed, the Nafamones took possession of their lands.

CLXXIV. Beyond these southward, in a country infested by savage beasts, dwell the Garamantes<sup>109</sup>, who avoid every kind of communication with

With healing gifts and privileges grac'd,  
Well in the land of serpents were they plac'd  
Truce with the dreadful tyrant, Death, they have,  
And border safely on his realm, the grave.

See also Savary, vol. i. p. 63.

“ You are acquainted with the Pŷylli, those celebrated serpent-eaters of antiquity, who sported with the bite of vipers, and the credulity of the people. Many of them inhabited Cyrene, a city west of Alexandria, and formerly dependant on Ægypt. You know the pitiful vanity of Octavius, who wished the captive Cleopatra should grace his triumphal car; and, chagrined to see that proud woman escape by death, commanded one of the Pŷylli to suck the wound the asp had made. Fruitless were his efforts; the poison had perverted the whole mass of blood, nor could the art of the Pŷylli restore her to life.”

<sup>109</sup> *Garamantes*.]—These people are said to have been so named from Garamas, a son of Apollo.—See Virgil, vi. 794.

Supra Garamantas et Indos  
Proferet inferium. T.

men,



men, are ignorant of the use of all military weapons, and totally unable to defend themselves.

CLXXV. These people live beyond the Nasamones; but towards the sea coast westward are the Macæ<sup>170</sup>. It is the custom of this people to leave a tuft of hair in the centre of the head, carefully shaving the rest. When they make war, their only coverings are the skins of ostriches. The river Cinyps rises amongst these in a hill said to be sacred to the Graces, whence it continues its course to the sea. This hill of the Graces is well covered with trees; whereas the rest of Africa, as I have before observed, is very barren of wood. The distance from this hill to the sea is two hundred stadia.

CLXXVI. The Gindanes are next to the Macæ. Of the wives of this people it is said that they wear round their ancles as many bandages as they have known men. The more of these each possesses, the more she is esteemed, as having been beloved by the greater number of the other sex.

CLXXVII. The neck of land which stretches from the country of the Gindanes towards the sea, is possessed by the Lotophagi, who live entirely upon the fruit of the lotos. The lotos is of the

<sup>170</sup> *Macæ.*]—These people are thus mentioned by Silius Italicus:

Tum primum castris Phœnicum tendere ritu  
Cinyphiis didicere Macæ, squallentia barbâ  
Ora viris, humerosque tegunt velamina capri.

*T.*

size of the mastick, and sweet like the date; and the Lotophagi make of it a kind of wine.

CLXXVIII. Towards the sea, the Machlyes border on the Lotophagi. They also feed on the lotos, though not so entirely as their neighbours. They extend as far as a great stream called the Triton, which enters into an extensive lake named Tritonis, in which is the island of Phla. An oracular declaration, they say, had foretold that some Lacedæmonians should settle themselves here.

CLXXIX. The particulars are these: when Jason had constructed the Argo at the foot of Mount Pelion, he carried on board a hecatomb for sacrifice, with a brazen tripod: he sailed round the Peloponnese, with the intention to visit Delphi. As he approached Malea, a north wind drove him to the African coast<sup>171</sup>; and before he could discover land, he got amongst the shallows of the lake of Tritonis: not being able to extricate himself from this situation, a Triton<sup>172</sup> is said to have appeared to him,

<sup>171</sup> *To the African coast.*]—"Some references to the Argonautic expedition," says Mr. Bryant, "are interspersed in most of the writings of the ancients; but there is scarce a circumstance concerning it in which they are agreed. In respect to the first setting out of the Argo, most make it pass northward to Lemnos and the Hellespont; but Herodotus says that Jason first sailed towards Delphi, and was carried to the Syrtic sea of Lybia, and then pursued his voyage to the Euxine. Neither can the æra of the expedition be settled without running into many difficulties.—See the *Analysis*, vol. ii. 491.

<sup>172</sup> *A Triton.*]—From various passages in the works of Lucian,



him, and to have promised him a secure and easy passage, provided he would give him the tripod. To this Jason assented, and the Triton having fulfilled his engagement, he placed the tripod in his temple, from whence he communicated to Jason and his companions what was afterwards to happen. Amongst other things, he said, that whenever a descendant of these Argonauts should take away this tripod, there would be infallibly an hundred Grecian cities near the lake of Tritonis<sup>173</sup>. The

cian, Pliny, and other authors of equal authority, it should seem that the ancients had a firm belief of the existence of Tritons, Nereids, &c. The god Triton was a distinct personage, and reputed to be the son of Neptune and the nymph Salacia; he was probably considered as supreme of the Tritons, and seems always to have been employed by Neptune for the purpose of calming the ocean.

Mulcet aquas rector Pelagi, supraque profundum  
 Exstantem atque humeros innato murice testum  
 Cæruleum Tritona vocat, cunctæque sonaci  
 Inspirare jubat fluctusque et flumina signo  
 Jam revocare dato, &c.—*Metamorph.* l. 334. T.

<sup>173</sup> *Lake Tritonis.*]—From this lake, as we are told in some very beautiful lines of Lucan, Minerva took her name of Tritonia.—See book ix. 589; Rowe's version:

And reach in safety the Tritonian lake.  
 These waters to the tuneful god are dear,  
 Whose vocal shell the sea-green Nereids hear.  
 These Pallas loves, so tells reporting fame;  
 Here first from heaven to earth the goddess came,  
 Here her first footsteps on the brink she staid,  
 Here, in the watery glass, her form survey'd,  
 And call'd herself, from hence, the chaste Tritonian }  
 maid. T.  
 Africans,

Africans, hearing this prediction, are said to have concealed the tripod.

CLXXX. Next to the Machlyes live the Aufenses. The above two nations inhabit the opposite sides of lake Tritonis. The Machlyes suffer their hair to grow behind the head, the Aufenses before. They have an annual festival in honour of Minerva, in which the young women, dividing themselves into two separate bands, engage each other with stones and clubs. These rites, they say, were instituted by their forefathers, in veneration of her whom we call Minerva; and if any one die in consequence of wounds received in this contest, they say that she was no virgin. Before the conclusion of the fight they observe this custom: she who by common consent fought the best, has a Corinthian helmet placed upon her head, is clothed in Grecian armour, and carried in a chariot round the lake. How the virgins were decorated in this solemnity, before they had any knowledge of the Greeks, I am not able to say; probably they might use Ægyptian arms. We may venture to affirm, that the Greeks borrowed from Ægypt the shield and the helmet. It is pretended that Minerva was the daughter of Neptune, and the divinity of the lake Tritonis; and that from some trifling disagreement with her father she put herself under the protection of Jupiter, who afterwards adopted her as his daughter. The connection of this people with their women is promiscuous, not confining themselves to one, but living with the sex in brutal



licentiousness. Every three months <sup>174</sup> the men hold a public assembly, before which each woman who has had a strong healthy boy produces him, and the man whom he most resembles is considered as his father.

CLXXXI. The Africans who inhabit the sea-coast are termed Nomades. The more inland parts of Africa, beyond these, abound with wild beasts; remoter still, is one vast sandy desert, from the Ægyptian Thebes to the columns of Hercules <sup>175</sup>. Penetrating this desert to the space of a ten days journey, vast pillars of salt are discovered, from the summits of which flows a stream of water equally cool and sweet. This district is possessed by the last of those who inhabit the deserts beyond the centre and ruder part of Africa. The Ammonians, who possess the temple of the Theban Jupiter, are the people nearest from this place to Thebes, from

<sup>174</sup> *Every three months.*]—This preposterous custom brings to mind one, described by Lobo, in his Voyage to Abyssinia, practised by a people whom he calls the Galles, a wandering nation of Africans. If engaged in any warlike expedition, they take their wives with them, but put to death all the children who may happen to be born during the excursion. If they settle quietly at home, they bring up their children with proper care.—T.

<sup>175</sup> *Columns of Hercules.*]—In a former note upon the columns of Hercules, I omitted to mention that more anciently, according to Ælian, these were called the columns of Briareus. This is also mentioned by Aristotle. But when Hercules had, by the destruction of various monsters, rendered essential service to mankind, they were out of honour to his memory named the columns of Hercules.—T.

which

which they are distant a ten days journey. There is an image of Jupiter at Thebes, as I have before remarked, with the head of a goat.—The Ammonians have also a fountain of water, which at the dawn of morning is warm, as the day advances it chills, and at noon becomes excessively cold. When it is at the coldest point, they use it to water their gardens: as the day declines, its coldness diminishes; at sun-set, it is again warm, and its warmth gradually increases till midnight, when it is absolutely in a boiling state. After this period, as the morning advances, it grows again progressively colder. This is called the fountain of the Sun <sup>176</sup>.

CLXXXII. Passing onward beyond the Ammonians, into the desert for ten days more, another hill of salt <sup>177</sup> occurs; it resembles that which is found

<sup>176</sup> *Fountain of the Sun.*]—Diodorus Siculus describes this fountain nearly in the same terms with Herodotus. It is thus described by Silius Italicus:

Stat fano vicina, novum et memorabile, lympa  
 Quæ nascente die, quæ deficiente tepescit,  
 Quæque riget medium cum Sol accendit Olympum  
 Atque eadem rursus nocturnis fervet in umbris.

Herodotus does not tell us that the Ammonians venerated this fountain; but as they called it the fountain of the Sun, it is probable that they did. In remoter times, men almost universally worshipped streams and fountains, if distinguished by any peculiar properties: all fountains were originally dedicated to the sun, as to the first principle of motion.—*T.*

<sup>177</sup> *Hill of salt.*]—I find the following description of the plain of salt, in Abyssinia, in Lobo's Voyage: "These plains



found amongst the Ammonians, and has a spring of water; the place is inhabited, and called Angila, and here the Nasamones come to gather their dates.

CLXXXIII. At another ten days distance from the Angilæ, there is another hill of salt with water, as well as a great number of palms, which, like those before described, are exceedingly productive: this place is inhabited by the numerous nation of the Garamantes; they cover the beds of salt with earth, and then plant it. From them to the Lotophagi is a very short distance; but from these latter it is a journey of thirty days to that nation among whom is a species of oxen, which walk backwards whilst they are feeding; their horns <sup>178</sup> are so formed

are surrounded with high mountains, continually covered with thick clouds, which the sun draws from the lakes that are here, from which the water runs down into the plain, and is there congealed into salt. Nothing can be more curious, than to see the channels and aqueducts that nature has formed in this hard rock, so exact, and of such admirable contrivance, that they seem to be the work of men. To this place caravans of Abyssinia are continually resorting, to carry salt into all parts of the empire, which they set a great value upon, and which in their country is of the same use as money."

<sup>178</sup> *Their horns.*—In the British Museum is a pair of horns six feet six inches and a half long, it weighs twenty-one pounds, and the hollow will contain five quarts; Lobo mentions some in Abyssinia which would hold ten; Dallon saw some in India ten feet long: they are sometimes wrinkled, but often smooth.—*Pennant.*

Pliny, book xi. chap. 38. has a long dissertation upon the horns

formed that they cannot do otherwise, they are before so long, and curved in such a manner, that if they did not recede as they fed, they would stick in the ground; in other respects they do not differ from other animals of the same genus, unless we except the thickness of their skins. These Garamantes, sitting in carriages drawn by four horses, give chase to the Æthiopian Troglodytæ<sup>179</sup>, who, of all the people in the world of whom we have ever heard, are far the swiftest of foot: their food is lizards, serpents, and other reptiles; their language bears no resemblance to that of any other nation, for it is like the screaming of bats.

CLXXXIV. From the Garamantes, it is another ten days journey to the Atlantes, where also is a hill of salt with water. Of all mankind of

horns of different animals; he tells us that the cattle of the Troglodytæ, hereafter mentioned, had their horns curved in so particular manner, that when they fed they were obliged to turn their necks on one side.—*T.*

<sup>179</sup> *Troglodytæ.*]—These people have their names from *τρωγλη*, a cave, and *δω*, to enter; Pliny says they were swifter than horses; and Mela relates the circumstance of their feeding upon reptiles. I cannot omit here noticing a strange mistake of Pliny, who, speaking of these people, says, “*Syrbotas vocari gentem eam Nomadum Æthiopum secundum flumen Astapum ad septentrionem vergentem;*” as if *ad septentrionem vergentem* could possibly be applicable to any situation in Æthiopia. I may very properly add in this place, that one of the most entertaining and ingenious fictions that was ever invented, is the account given by Montesquieu in his *Persian Letters* of the Troglodytæ.—*T.*



whom we have any knowledge, the Atlantes<sup>180</sup> alone have no distinction of names; the body of the people are termed Atlantes, but their individuals have no appropriate appellation: when the sun is at the highest they heap upon it reproaches and execrations, because their country and themselves are parched by its rays. At the same distance onward, of a ten days march, another hill of salt occurs, with water and inhabitants: near this hill stands mount Atlas, which at every approach is uniformly round and steep; it is so lofty that, on account of the clouds which in summer as well as winter envelope it, its summit can never be discerned; it is called by the inhabitants a pillar of heaven. From this mountain the people take their name of Atlantes: it is said of them, that they never feed on any thing which has life, and that they are ignorant what it is to dream.

CLXXXV. I am able to call by name all the different nations as far as the Atlantes, beyond these I have no knowledge. There is, however, from hence, an habitable country, as far as the co-

<sup>180</sup> *Atlantes.*]—Concerning the reading of this word, learned men have been exceedingly divided; Valknaer, and from him also M. Larcher, is of opinion that mention is here made of two distinct nations, the Atarantes and the Atlantes; but all the peculiarities enumerated in this chapter are, by Pliny, Mela, and Solinus, ascribed to the single people of the Atlantes. There were two mountains, named Atlas Major and Atlas Minor, but these were not at a sufficient distance from each other to solve the difficulty.—T.

lums of Hercules, and even beyond it. At the regular interval of a ten days journey, there is a bed of salt, and inhabitants whose houses are formed from masses of salt <sup>181</sup>. In this part of Africa it never rains, for if it did these structures of salt could not be durable; they have here two sorts of salt, white and purple <sup>182</sup>. Beyond this sandy desert, southward, to the interior parts of Africa, there is a vast and horrid space without water, wood, or beasts, and totally destitute of moisture.

CLXXXVI. Thus from Ægypt, as far as lake Tritonis, the Africans lead a pastoral life, living on flesh and milk, but, like the Ægyptians, will neither eat bulls flesh nor breed swine. The women of Cyrene also esteem it impious to touch

<sup>181</sup> *Masses of salt.*]—Gerrha, a town on the Persian Gulph, inhabited by the exiled Chaldeans, was built of salt: the salt of the mountain Had-deffa, near lake Marks, in Africa, is hard and solid as a stone.—*Larcher*.

<sup>182</sup> *Salt, white and purple.*]—Had-deffa is a mountain entirely of salt, situate at the eastern extremity of lake Marks, or lake Tritonis of the ancients; this salt is entirely different from salts in general, being hard and solid as a stone, and of a red or violet colour: the salt which the dew dissolves from the mountain changes its colour, and becomes white as snow; it loses also the bitterness which is the property of rock salt.—*See Shaw's Travels*.

One of the most curious phænomena in the circle of natural history, is the celebrated salt-mine of Wielitska in Poland, so well described by Coxe: the salt dug from this mine is called green salt, "I know not," says Mr. Coxe, "for what reason, for its colour is an iron-grey."—*See Travels into Poland*.



an heifer, on account of the Ægyptian Isis, in whose honour they solemnly observe both fast-days and festivals. The women of Barce abstain not only from the flesh of heifers, but of swine.

CLXXXVII. The Africans, to the west of lake Tritonis, are not shepherds, they are distinguished by different manners, neither do they observe the same ceremonies with respect to their children. The greater number of these African shepherds follow the custom I am about to describe, though I will not say that it is the case indiscriminately with them all:—As soon as their children arrive at the age of four years, they burn the veins either of the top of the scull, or of the temples, with uncleaned wool: they are of opinion, that by this process all watery humours are prevented<sup>183</sup>; to this they impute the excellent health which they enjoy. It must be acknowledged, whatever may be the cause, that the Africans are more exempt from disease than any other men.—If the operation throws the children into convulsions, they have a remedy at hand; they sprinkle them with goats urine<sup>184</sup>, and they recover.

<sup>183</sup> *Watery humours are prevented.*]—According to Hippocrates, the Scythians apply fire to their shoulders, arms, and stomachs, on account of the humid and relaxed state of their bodies; this operation dries up the excess of moisture about the joints, and renders them more free and active. Wesseling remarks from Scaliger, that this custom still prevails amongst the Æthiopian Christians, Mahometans, and Heathens.—*Larcher.*

<sup>184</sup> *Goats urine.*]—I have heard of cows urine being applied

ver.—I relate what the Africans themselves affirm.

CLXXXVIII. As to their mode of sacrifice, having cut the ear of the victim which they intend as an offering for their first fruits, they throw it over the top of their dwelling, and afterwards break its neck: the only deities to whom they sacrifice, are the sun and moon, who are adored by all the Africans; they who live near lake Tritonis venerate Triton, Neptune, and Minerva, but particularly the last.

CLXXXIX. From these Africans the Greeks borrowed the vest, and the Ægis, with which they decorate the shrine of Minerva: the vests, however, of the African Minervas, are made of skin, and the fringe hanging from the Ægis is not composed of serpents, but of leather; in every other respect the dress is the same: it appears by the very name, that the robe of the statues of Minerva was borrowed from Africa. The women<sup>185</sup> of this country wear  
below

as a specific in some dangerous obstructions; and I find in Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia an account of goats urine being recommended in an asthmatic complaint; their blood was formerly esteemed of benefit in pleurisies, but this idea is now exploded.  
—T.

<sup>185</sup> *The women.*]—Apollonius Rhodius, who was an exact observer of manners, thus describes the three Lybian heroines who appeared to Jason—See Fawkes's version:

Attend, my friends:—Three virgin forms, who claim  
From heaven their race, to sooth my sorrows came;

Their



below their garments goat-skins without the hair fringed and stained of a red colour; from which part of dress the word *Ægis*<sup>186</sup> of the Greeks is unquestionably derived. I am also inclined to believe, that the loud cries<sup>187</sup> which are uttered in the temples of that goddess have the same origin; the African women do this very much, but not disagreeably. From Africa also the Greeks borrowed the custom of harnessing four horses to a carriage.

CXC. These African Nomades observe the same ceremonies with the Greeks in the interment of the dead; we must except the Nasamones, who bury their deceased in a sitting attitude, and are particularly careful, as any one approaches his end, to prevent his expiring in a reclined posture. Their dwellings are easily moveable, and are formed of

Their shoulders round were shaggy goat-skins cast,  
Which low descending girt their slender waist.

<sup>186</sup> *Ægis.*]—From αἶς αἶγες, a goat, the Greeks made αἶγες αἶγιδος, which signifies both the skin of a goat, and the *Ægis* of Minerva.

<sup>187</sup> *Loud cries.*]—See *Iliad* vi. 370: Pope's version.

Soon as to Ilion's topmost tower they come,  
And awful reach the high Palladian dome,  
Antenor's consort, fair Theano, waits  
As Pallas' priestess, and unbars the gates,  
With hands uplifted, and imploring eyes,  
They fill the dome with *supplicating cries*.

In imitation of which, M. Larcher remarks, Virgil uses the expression of *summoque ulularunt vertice nymphae*,

the

the asphodel shrub, secured with rushes.—Such are the manners of these people.

CXCI. The Aufenses, on the western part of the river Triton, border on those Africans who cultivate the earth and have houses, they are called Maxyes; these people suffer their hair to grow on the right side of the head, but not on the left; they stain their bodies with vermillion, and pretend to be descended from the Trojans. This region, and indeed all the more western parts of Africa, is much more woody, and infested with wild beasts, than where the African Nomades reside; for the abode of these latter, advancing eastward, is low and sandy. From hence westward, where those inhabit who till the ground, it is mountainous, full of wood, and abounding with wild beasts; here are found serpents of an enormous size, lions, elephants, bears<sup>188</sup>, asps, and asses with horns. Here also are the Cynocephali, as well as the Acephali<sup>189</sup>, who,  
if

<sup>188</sup> *Bears.*]—Pliny pretends that Africa does not produce bears, although he gives us the annals of Rome, testifying that in the consulship of M. Piso, and M. Messala, Domitius Ænobarbus gave during his ædileship public games, in which were an hundred Numidian bears.

Lipsius affirms, that the beasts produced in the games of Ænobarbus, were lions, which is the animal also meant by the *Lybistis ura* of Virgil: “The first time,” says he, “that the Romans saw lions, they did not call them lions, but bears.” Virgil mentions lions by its appropriate name in an hundred places; Shaw also enumerates bears amongst the animals which he met in Africa.—*Larcher.*

<sup>189</sup> *Cynocephali as well as the Acephali.*]—Herodotus mentions  
a nation



if the Africans may be credited, have their eyes in their breasts ; they have, moreover, men and women

a nation of this name in Lybia, and speaks of them as a race of men with the heads of dogs. Hard by, in the neighbourhood of this people, he places the Acephali, men with no heads at all ; to whom, out of humanity, and to obviate some very natural distresses, he gives eyes in the breast ; but he seems to have forgot mouth and ears, and makes no mention of a nose. Both these and the Cynocephali were denominated from their place of residence, and from their worship ; the one from Cahen-Caph-El, the other from Ac-Caph-El, each of which appellations is of the same import, the right noble or sacred rock of the sun.—*Bryant*.

See also the speech of Othello in Shakespear :

Wherein of antars vast and desarts idle,  
 Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch  
 heav'n,  
 It was my hint to speak, such was my proceſs ;  
 And of the cannibals that each other eat,  
 The Anthropophagi ; and men whose heads  
 Did grow beneath their shoulders. 7.

The Cynocephali, whom the Africans considered as men with the heads of dogs, were a species of baboons, remarkable for their boldness and ferocity. As to the Acephali, St. Augustin assures us, that he had seen them himself of both sexes. That holy father would have done well to have considered, that in pretending to be eye-witness of such a fable he threw a stain on the veracity of his other works. If there really be a nation in Africa which appear to be without a head, I can give no better account of the phenomenon, than by copying the ingenious author of *Philosophic Researches concerning the Americans*.

“ There is,” says he, “ in Canibar, a race of savages who have hardly any neck, and whose shoulders reach up to the ears. This monstrous appearance is artificial, and to give it to their

women who are wild and savage; and many ferocious animals whose existence cannot be disputed<sup>190</sup>.

CXCII. Of the animals above mentioned, none are found amongst the African Nomades; they have however pygargi<sup>191</sup>, goats, buffaloes, and asses, not  
of

their children, they put enormous weights upon their heads, so as to make the vertebræ of the neck enter (if we may so say) the channel-bone (clavicule). These barbarians, from a distance, seem to have their mouth in the breast, and might well enough, in ignorant or enthusiastic travellers, serve to revive the fable of the Acephali, or men without heads."—The above note is from Larcher; who also adds the following remark upon the preceding note, which I have given from Mr. Bryant.

Mr. Bryant, imagining that these people called themselves Acephali, decomposes the word, which is purely Greek, and makes it come from the Ægyptian Ac-Caph-El, which he interprets "the sacred rock of the sun." The same author, with as much reason, pretends that Cynocephali comes from Cahen-Caph-El, to which he assigns a similar interpretation: here, to me at least, there seems a vast deal of erudition entirely thrown away.

In the fifth century, the name of Acephali was given to a considerable faction of the Monophysites, or Eutychians, who by the submission of Mongus were deprived of their leader.—T.

Apollonius Rhodius calls these people *ἡμίκυες*, or half dogs; and it is not improbable but that the circumstance of their living entirely by the produce of the chase, might give rise to the fable of their having the heads of dogs.—T.

<sup>190</sup> *Cannot be disputed.*]—We may, I think, fairly infer from this expression, that Herodotus gave no credit to the stories of the Cynocephali and Acephali.—T.

<sup>191</sup> *Pygargi.*]—Aristotle classes the pygargus amongst the birds of prey; but as Herodotus in this place speaks only of quadrupeds,



of that species which have horns, but a particular kind which never drink. They have also oryxes <sup>192</sup> of the size of an ox, whose horns are used by the Phœnicians to make the sides of their citharæ. In

quadrupeds, it is probable that this also was one. Hardouin makes it a species of goat.—Thus far Larcher. Ælian also ranks it amongst the quadrupeds, and speaks of its being a very timid animal.—See also Juvenal, Sat. xi. 138.

Sumine cum magno, lepus atque aper, et pygargus.

See also Deuteronomy, chap. xiv. verse 5. “The hart and the roebuck, and the fallow deer, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the wild ox, and the chamois.”

It may probably be the gazelle, a species of antelope.—T.

<sup>192</sup> *Oryxes*.]—Pliny describes this animal as having but one horn; Oppian, who had seen it, says the contrary. Aristotle classes it with the animals having but one horn. Bochart thinks it was the aram, a species of gazelle; but Oppian describes the oryx as a very fierce animal.—The above is from *Larcher*.

The oryx is mentioned by Juvenal, Sat. xi. 140.

Et Gætulus oryx:

And upon which line the Scholiast has this remark:

Oryx animal minus quem bubalus quem Mauri uncem vocant, cujus pellis ad citoras proficit scuta Maurorum minora.—From the line of Juvenal above mentioned it appears that they were eaten at Rome, but they were also introduced as a ferocious animal in the amphitheatre. See Martial, xiii. 95.

Matutinarum non ultima præda ferarum

Sævus oryx, constat quot mihi mute canum.

That it was an animal well known and very common in Africa, is most certain; but, unless it be what Pennant describes under the name of the leucoryx, or white antelope, I confess I know not what name to give it.—T.

this

this region likewise there are *bassaria*<sup>193</sup>, hyenæ, porcupines, wild boars, *dictyes*<sup>194</sup>, thoes<sup>195</sup>, panthers, boryes<sup>196</sup>, land crocodiles<sup>197</sup> three cubits long, resembling lizards, ostriches, and small serpents, hav-

<sup>193</sup> *Bassaria*.]—Ælian makes no mention of this animal, at least under this name. Larcher interprets it foxes, and refers the reader to the article *βασσαρις*, in Hesychius, which we learn was the name which the people of Cyrene gave to the fox.—T.

<sup>194</sup> *Dictyes*.]—I confess myself totally unable to find out what animal is here meant.

<sup>195</sup> *Thoes*.]—Larcher is of opinion that this is the beast which we call a jack-all, which he thinks is derived from the Arabian word *chatal*. He believes that the idea of the jackall's being the lion's provider is universally credited in this country; but this is not true. The science of natural history is too well and too successfully cultivated amongst us to admit of such an error, except with the most ignorant. I subjoin what Shaw says upon this subject.

The black cat (*seyah ghush*) and the jackall, are generally supposed to find out provision or prey for the lion, and are therefore called the lion's provider; yet it may very much be doubted, whether there is any such friendly intercourse between them. In the night, indeed, when all the beasts of the forest do move, these, as well as others, are prowling after sustenance; and when the sun riseth, and the lion getteth himself away to his den, both the black cat and the jackall have been often found gnawing such carcases as the lion is supposed to have fed upon the night before. This, and the promiscuous noise which I have heard the jackall particularly make with the lion, are the only circumstances I am acquainted with in favour of this opinion.—T.

<sup>196</sup> *Boryes*.]—Of this animal I can find no account in any writer, ancient or modern.

<sup>197</sup> *Land crocodiles*.] or *Κροκοδειλος χερσαιος*, so called in contradistinction from the river crocodile, which by way of eminence was called *Κροκοδειλος* only.—T.



ing each a single horn. Besides these animals, they have such as are elsewhere found, except the stag and the boar<sup>178</sup>, which are never seen in Africa. They have also three distinct species of mice, some of which are called dipodes<sup>179</sup>, others are called zegeries, which in the African tongue has the same meaning with the Greek word for hills. The other species is called the echines. There are moreover to be seen a kind of weazel produced in Silphium, and very much like that of Tartessus. The above are all the animals amongst the African Nomades, which my most diligent researches have enabled me to discover.

CXCIII. Next to the Maxyes are the Zauces, whose women guide the chariots of war.

<sup>178</sup> *Boar.*]—This animal must have been carried to Africa since the time of Herodotus, for it is now found there: according to Shaw, it is the chief food and prey of the lion, against which it has sometimes been known to defend itself with so much bravery, that the victory has inclined to neither side, the carcases of them both having been found lying the one by the other, torn and mangled to pieces.—*Shaw*.

<sup>179</sup> *Dipodes.*]—Shaw is of opinion that this is the jerboa of Barbary. "That remarkable disproportion," observes this writer, "betwixt the fore and hinder legs of the jerboa, or διπυς, though I never saw them run, but only stand or rest themselves upon the latter, may induce us to take it for one of the διποδες, or two-footed rats which Herodotus and other writers describe as the inhabitants of these countries, particularly (τῆς Σιλφίου) of the province of Silphium." Accordingly Mr. Pennant has set down the μὺς διπυς of Theophrastus and Ælian among the synonyma of the jerboa.—*Hist. of An.* p. 427. N° 291.

CXCIV.

CXCIV. The people next in order are the Zy-gantes, amongst whom a great abundance of honey is found, the produce of their bees; but of this they say a great deal more is made by the natives<sup>200</sup>. They all stain their bodies with vermilion, and feed upon monkies, with which animal their mountains abound.

CXCV. According to the Carthaginians, we next meet with an island called Cyranis, two hundred stadia in length. It is of a trifling breadth, but the communication with the continent is easy, and it abounds with olives and vines. Here is a lake from which the young women of the island draw up gold dust<sup>201</sup> with bunches of feathers besmeared with pitch. For the truth of this I will not answer, relating merely what I have been told. To me it seems the more probable, after having seen at Zacynthus<sup>202</sup> pitch drawn from the bottom  
of

<sup>200</sup> *Made by the natives.*]—"I do not see," says Reiske on this passage, "how men can possibly make honey. They may collect, clarify, and prepare it by various processes for use, but the bees must first have made it."

I confess I see no such great difficulty in the above. There were various kinds of honey, honey of bees, honey of the palm, and honey of sugar, not to mention honey of grapes; all the last of which might be made by the industry of man.—See Lucan:

Quique bibunt tenera dulces ab arundine succos. T.

See Shaw's Travels, p. 339.

<sup>201</sup> *Gold dust.*]—See a minute account of this in Achilles Tatius.—T.

<sup>202</sup> *Zacynthus.*]—The modern name of this place is Zante.  
VOL. II. A a Its



of the water. At this place are a number of lakes, the largest of which is seventy feet in circumference, and of the depth of two orgyæ. Into this water they let down a pole, at the end of which is a bunch of myrtle; the pitch attaches itself to the myrtle, and is thus procured. It has a bituminous smell, but is in other respects preferable to that of Pieria<sup>203</sup>. The pitch is then thrown into a trench dug for the purpose by the side of the lake; and when a sufficient quantity has been obtained, they put it up in casks. Whatever falls into the lake

Its tar springs, to use the words of Chandler, are still a natural curiosity deserving notice.

The tar is produced in a small valley about two hours from the town, by the sea, and encompassed with mountains, except toward the bay, in which are a couple of rocky islets. The spring which is most distinct and apt for inspection, rises on the farther side near the foot of the hill. The well is circular, and four or five feet in diameter. A shining film, like oil mixed with scum, swims on the top: you remove this with a bough, and see the tar at the bottom, three or four feet beneath the surface, working up, it is said, out of a fissure in the rock; the bubbles swelling gradually to the size of a large cannon-ball, when they burst, and the sides leisurely sinking, new ones succeed, increase, and in turn subside. The water is limpid, and runs off with a smart current: the ground near is quaggy, and will shake beneath the feet, but is cultivated. We filled some vessels with tar, by letting it trickle into them from the boughs which we immersed, and this is the method used to gather it from time to time into pits, where it is hardened by the sun, to be barrelled when the quantity is sufficient. The odour reaches a considerable way.—See *Chandler's Travels*.

<sup>203</sup> *That of Pieria.*—This was highly esteemed. Didymus says that the ancients considered that as the best which came from Mount Ida; and next to this, the tar which came from Pieria. Pliny says the same.—*Larcher*.

passes under ground, and is again seen in the sea, at the distance of four stadia from the lake. Thus what is related of this island contiguous to Africa, seems both consistent and probable.

CXCVI. We have the same authority of the Carthaginians to affirm, that beyond the columns of Hercules there is a country inhabited by a people with whom they have had commercial intercourse<sup>204</sup>. It is their custom, on arriving amongst them, to unload their vessels, and dispose their goods along the shore. This done, they again embark, and make a great smoke from on board. The natives, seeing this, come down immediately to the shore, and placing a quantity of gold by

<sup>204</sup> *Commercial intercourse.*]—It must be mentioned to the honour of the western Moors, that they still continue to carry on a trade with some barbarous nations bordering upon the river Niger, without seeing the persons they trade with, or without having once broke through that original charter of commerce which from time immemorial has been settled between them. The method is this: at a certain time of the year, in the winter, if I am not mistaken, they make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along with them coral and glass beads, bracelets of horn, knives, scissars, and such like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on such a day of the moon, they find in the evening several different heaps of gold dust lying at a small distance from each other, against which the Moors place so many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians the next morning approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets and leave the gold dust, or else make some deduction from the latter. In this manner they transact their exchange without seeing one another, or without the least instance of dishonesty or perfidiousness on either side.—*Shaw.*



way of exchange for the merchandize, retire. The Carthaginians then land a second time, and if they think the gold equivalent, they take it and depart; if not, they again go on board their vessels. The inhabitants return and add more gold, till the crews are satisfied. The whole is conducted with the strictest integrity, for neither will the one touch the gold till they have left an adequate value in merchandize, nor will the other remove the goods till the Carthaginians have taken away the gold.

CXCVII. Such are the people of Africa whose names I am able to ascertain; of whom the greater part cared but little for the king of the Medes, neither do they now. Speaking with all the precision I am able, the country I have been describing is inhabited by four nations only: of these two are natives and two strangers. The natives are the Africans and Æthiopians; one of whom possesses the northern the other the southern parts of Africa. The strangers are the Phœnicians and the Greeks.

CXCVIII. If we except the district of Cinyps, which bears the name of the river flowing through it, Africa in goodness of soil cannot, I think, be compared either to Asia or Europe. Cinyps is totally unlike the rest of Africa, but is equal to any country in the world for its corn. It is of a black soil, abounding in springs, and never troubled with drought. It rains in this part of Africa, but the rains, though violent, are never injurious. The produce

duce of corn is not exceeded by Babylon itself. The country also of the Euesperitæ is remarkably fertile; in one of its plentiful years it produces an hundred fold; that of Cinyps three hundred fold.

CXCIX. Of the part of Africa possessed by the Nomades, the district of Cyrene is the most elevated. They have three seasons, which well deserve admiration: the harvest and the vintage first commence upon the sea-coast; when these are finished, those immediately contiguous, advancing up the country, are ready; this region they call Buni. When the requisite labour has been here finished, the corn and the vines in the more elevated parts are found to ripen in progression, and will then require to be cut. By the time therefore that the first produce of the earth is consumed, the last will be ready. Thus for eight months in the year the Cyreneans are employed in reaping the produce of their lands.

CC. The Persians who were sent by Aryandes to avenge the cause of Pheretime proceeding from Ægypt to Barce, laid siege to the place, having first required the persons of those who had been accessory to the death of Arcefilaus. To this the inhabitants, who had all been equally concerned in destroying him, paid no attention. The Persians, after continuing nine months before the place, carried their mines to the walls, and made a very vigorous attack. Their mines were discovered by a smith, by means of a brazen shield. He made a



circuit of the town; where there were no miners beneath the shield did not reverberate, which it did wherever they were at work. The Barceans therefore dug countermines, and slew the Persians so employed. Every attempt to storm the place was vigorously defeated by the besieged.

CCI. After a long time had been thus consumed with considerable slaughter on both sides (as many being killed of the Persians as of their adversaries) Amasis, the leader of the infantry, employed the following stratagem;—Being convinced that the Barceans were not to be overcome by any open attacks, he sunk in the night a large and deep trench: the surface of this he covered with some slight pieces of wood, then placing earth over the whole, the ground had uniformly the same appearance. At the dawn of the morning he invited the Barceans to a conference; they willingly assented, being very desirous to come to terms. Accordingly they entered into a treaty, of which these were the conditions: it was to remain valid<sup>205</sup> as long as the earth upon which the agreement was made should retain its present appearance. The Barceans were to pay the Persian monarch a certain reasonable

<sup>205</sup> *It was to remain valid.*]—Memini similem fœderis formulam apud Polybium legere in fœdere Hannibalis cum Tarentinis, si bene memini.—*Reiske.*

Reiske's recollection appears in this place to have deceived him. Tarentum was betrayed to Hannibal by the treachery of some of its citizens; but in no manner resembling this here described by Herodotus.—*T.*

tribute ; and the Persians engaged themselves to undertake nothing in future to the detriment of the Barceans. Relying upon these engagements, the Barceans, without hesitation, threw open the gates of their city, going out and in themselves without fear of consequences, and permitting without restraint such of the enemy as pleased to come within their walls. The Persians, withdrawing the artificial support of the earth, where they had sunk a trench, entered the city in crouds ; they imagined by this artifice that they had fulfilled all they had undertaken, and were brought back to the situation in which they were mutually before. For in reality, this support of the earth being taken away, the oath they had taken became void.

CCII. The Persians seized and surrendered to the power of Pheretima such of the Barceans as had been instrumental in the death of her son. These she crucified on different parts of the walls ; she cut off also the breasts of their wives, and suspended them in a similar situation. She permitted the Persians to plunder the rest of the Barceans, except the Battiadæ, and those who were not concerned in the murder. These she suffered to retain their situations and property.

CCIII. The rest of the Barceans being reduced to servitude, the Persians returned home. Arriving at Cyrene, the inhabitants of that place granted them a free passage through their territories, from reverence to some oracle. Whilst they were on



their passage, Bares, commander of the fleet, solicited them to plunder Cyrene; which was opposed by Amasis, leader of the infantry, who urged that their orders were only against Barce. When, passing Cyrene, they had arrived at the hill of the Lycean Jupiter <sup>206</sup>, they expressed regret at not having plundered it. They accordingly returned, and endeavoured a second time to enter the place; but the Cyreneans would not suffer them. Although no one attempted to attack them, the Persians were seized with such a panic, that returning in haste, they encamped at the distance of about sixty stadia from the city. Whilst they remained here a messenger came from Aryandes, ordering them to return. Upon this, the Persians made application to the Cyreneans for a supply of provisions; which being granted, they returned to Ægypt. In their march they were incessantly harrassed by the Africans for the sake of their clothes and utensils. In their progress to Ægypt, whoever was surprized or left behind was instantly put to death.

CCIV. The farthest progress of this Persian army was to the country of the Euesperidæ. Their Barcean captives they carried with them from Ægypt to king Darius, who assigned them for their residence a portion of land in the Bactrian district, to which they gave the name of Barce; this has

<sup>206</sup> *Lycean Jupiter.*]—Lycaon erected a temple to Jupiter in Parrhasia, and instituted games in his honour, which the Lyceans called Λυκαῖα. No one was permitted to enter this temple; he who did was stoned.—*Larcher*,

within my time contained a great number of inhabitants.

CCV. The life, however, of Pheretima had by no means a fortunate termination. Having gratified her revenge upon the Barceans, she returned from Africa to Ægypt, and there perished miserably. Whilst alive, her body was the victim of worms<sup>207</sup>: thus it is that the gods punish those who have provoked their indignation; and such also was the vengeance which Pheretima, the wife of Battus, exercised upon the Barceans.

<sup>207</sup> *Victim of worms.*]—This passage, with the reasoning of Herodotus upon it, cannot fail to bring to the mind of the reader the miserable end of Herod, surnamed the Great.

And he went down to Cæsarea, and there abode: and upon a set day Herod arrayed in royal apparel sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost.—See Lardner's observations upon the above historical incident.—T.



## A D D E N D A

T O

## M E L P O M E N E.

**W**HEN the fourth book of Herodotus was nearly printed off, a small tract fell into my hands, published in Germany, under the title of *Geographia Africae Herodotea*; the name of the author is Schlichthorst; and it attracted my attention, from being introduced by a preface, with the respectable name of Chr. G. Heyne. After a closer examination, I found that it contained what, to me at least, seemed worthy of attention. The geography of Africa, always obscure, has not in modern times been sufficiently investigated; much remains to be known concerning this quarter of the globe: I feel it therefore a duty to the reader to give such extracts from the tract above mentioned as appear to illuminate this intricate part of geographical science, and to make us better acquainted with the places and inhabitants of ancient Lybia.

In Chap. CLXVIII. Herodotus speaks of the *Adyrmachidæ*.—It is well known, that in the age which followed, the Greeks drove these *Adyrmachidæ* into the higher parts of Lybia, and took possession of the sea-coast. When, therefore, Ptolemy describes the *Adyrmachidæ* as inhabiting the interior parts of Lybia, there is no contradiction betwixt his account and that of Herodotus. The manners of this people are described by Herodotus, and they are thus mentioned by Silius Italicus:—

Vericolor contra cetra et falcatus ab arte  
 Ensis *Adyrmachidæ* ac lævo tegmina crure;

Sed

Sed mensis asper populus, victuque maligno  
Nam calida tristes epulæ torrentur arena.—

L. iii. 278.

They are again mentioned by the same author, book ix. 223, 224.

—ferro vivere lætum  
Vulgus Adyrmachidæ.

Chap. CLXIX. *Aziris*.]—See the hymn of Callimachus to Apollo, verse 89, where this place is written Αζιρίς.

Herodotus in this place speaks of two islands, inhabited by the Giligammæ, Platea, and Aphrodisias; it is not certain whether the first of these is what Ptolemy called Ædonis: the second was afterwards named Læa, and was, according to Scylax, a good harbour for ships.

The country of the Giligammæ produced a species of the filphium, called by the Latins laferpiticum, from which a medical drug was extracted; see Pliny, Nat. Hist. xix. 3. "In the country of the Cyrene (where the best filphium grew) none of late years has been found, the farmers turning their cattle into the places where it grew: one stem only has been found in my time, this was sent as a present to Nero."

Chap. CLXXI. *Cabales*.]—This word is sometimes written Bacales; and Wesseling hesitates what reading to prefer.

What Herodotus says of the Nasamones, c. 173, is confirmed by Pliny, Nat. Hist. vii. c. 2; Silius Italicus, i. 408; Lucan, ix. 439, &c.

Concerning their manner of plighting troth, c. 172, Shaw tells us, that the drinking out of each others hands is the only ceremony which the Algerines at this time use in marriage.

The story which Herodotus relates of the Psylli, 173, is told also by Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. 16.—11. It seems more probable that they were destroyed by the Nasamones.—See Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 1.—See also Hardouin ad Plin. and Larcher, vii. 312.

Concerning τα Ιεασα, called by Herodotus, 158, καλλιστος των χωρων, see Callimach. Hymn to Apollo, 88, 89.

*Tauchira*.]—Called by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, Teuchira; afterwards it was known by the name of Arsinoe, and lastly by Antony



Antony it was named Cleopatris, in honour of Cleopatra: in modern times it has been called Teukera (d'Anville); Trochare (de la Croix); Trochara (Hardouin); Tochara (Simlenus); Trochata (Dapper).

*Euesperides.*]—The city was afterwards named Berenice; of this appellation some vestiges now remain, for the place is called Bernic, Berbic, and by some Beric.

The fertility of the contiguous country gave rise to the Grecian fable of the gardens of the Hesperides.

Chap. CLXXII. *Barce.*]—Many of the ancients believed that this place was anciently called Ptolemais, as Strabo, Pliny, Servius, and others.

Of Cyrene, about which Strabo speaks less fabulously than Herodotus, but few traces now remain; they are differently mentioned under the names of Keroan, Curin, and Guirina.

Chap. CLXXIV. *Garamantes*]—Mentioned by Mela, book viii. and by him called Gamphafantes.

Chap. CLXXV. *Macæ.*]—Amongst these people was the fountain of Cinyps, called by Strabo and Ptolemy Κινυφος, by Pliny Cinyps; its modern name, according to d'Anville, is Wadi-Quaham.

Chap. CLXXVI. *Girdanes.*]—This people, according to Stephanus, lived on the lotus, as well as the Lotophagi.

Chap. CLXXVII. *Lotophagi.*]—Whether from the same lotus the Lotophagi obtained both meat and wine, is laboriously disputed by Vossius ad Scyll. 114. and Stapel. ad Theophrast. l. iv. c. 4. p. 327. A delineation of the lotus may be seen in Shaw and De la Croix: it is what the Arabs of the present day call seedra, and is plentiful in Barbary, and the deserts of Barbary.

Chap. CLXXVIII. *Machlyes.*]—There were a people of this name also in Scythia; the name, however, is written different ways.—See Wesseling ad Herod. 178.

The river Triton is the same with that now called Gabs.—See Shaw.

Stephanus Byzantinus confounds the Phla of Herodotus with the island of Phila, which was in Æthiopia, not far from Ægypt.—See also Shaw on this island, 129, 4to. edit.

Chap. CLXXXI. *Ammonians.*]—Bochart derives the name of

of Ammonians from Cham, the son of Noah, who was long revered in the more barren parts of Africa, under the title of Ham or Hammon, one of the names of Jupiter.

That the name of Ammon was very well known in Arabia, and throughout Africa, we may learn from the river Ammon, the Ammonian promontory, the Ammonians, the city Ammon, &c.—See Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, &c.

Some remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon are still to be seen, if the travellers to Mecca may be believed; the place is called Hefach-bir (or mole lapidum).

In the same chapter Herodotus mentions *ἡ κρηνη Ἡλίου*, the temple of the sun, concerning which see Diodorus, xvii. 528.—See also Arrian, l. iii. c. 4.—Curtius, l. iv. c. 7.—Mela, l. i. c. 8.

Chap. CLXXXII. *Angilæ*.]—Herodotus says that this country abounded in dates; and the Africans of the present day go there to gather them.—See *Marmot*, vol. iii. p. 53.

Concerning the situation of the *Angilæ*, see Pliny, lib. v. c. 4; and Dapper, p. 323.

Amongst all the countries of Lybia, mentioned by the ancient Greek writers, *Angila* is the only one which to this day retains its primitive name without the smallest variation.

Chap. CLXXXIII. Of the cattle, which whilst they grazed walked backwards, Mela speaks, lib. i. c. 8.—Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 45.—Aristotle History of Animals, lib. vii. c. 21.—See also Vossius ad Melæ, loc. p. 41.

Chap. CLXXXIV. *Atrantes*.]—Some manuscripts read *Atlantes*, but this cannot be the genuine reading, which also is the opinion of Salmasius, Valknaer, Wesseling, and Larcher.—See Vossius ad Melæ, locum laudatum.

*Atlantes*.]—The *Atlantei*, mentioned by Diodorus, l. iii. 187, if ever they existed, must be distinct from the *Atlantes* of Herodotus. Of mount Atlas, and its extreme height, Homer speaks, Odyss. i. 52, 4.

Chap. CXCV. I have described at some length the tar-springs of Zante, from Dr. Chandler: I did not mention that some account of them is also to be found in Antigonus Carystius, p. 169, and Vitruvius, l. viii. c. 3.

*Cyraunis*.]—The same with the *Cercinna* of Strabo, now called Querqueni,



Querqueni, or Chercheni; concerning this island consult Diodorus, l. v. 294; but Diodorus, we should remark, confounded Cercinna with Cerne, an island of the Atlantic.

Chap. CXCVI. *Columns of Hercules.*]—The Libyan column was by ancient writers called Abyla; that on the Spanish side, Calpe.—*See P. Mela*, l. ii. c. 6.

Chap. CXCIX. *Cyrene.*]—About the limits of this district the ancients were not at all agreed, they are no where defined by Herodotus: the province of Cyrene, formerly so populous, is the contrary now; the sea-coasts are ravaged by pirates, the inland parts by the Arabians; such inhabitants as there are are rich by the sale of the Europeans who fall into their hands to the Æthiopians.—*See La Croix*, tom. ii. 252.

Of the abundant fertility of Cyrene, Diodorus Siculus also speaks, p. 183, c. cxxviii.—Concerning the fountain of Cyre, one of the Fontes Cyrenaicæ, see Callimachus's Ode to Apollo, 88; and Justin, lib. xiii. c. 7.

Concerning the Asbystæ, of whom Herodotus speaks, c. 170, 1, Salmasius has collected much, ad Solinum, 381; so also has Eustathius, ad Dionys. Perieg. 211.—*See too Larcher*, vol. vii. 43.

Of the people with whom the Carthaginians traded, beyond the columns of Hercules, without seeing them, I have spoken at length, and given from Shaw the passage introduced by Schlichthorst. The place, whose name is not mentioned by Herodotus, is, doubtless, what we now call Senegambia. All the part of Lybia described by Herodotus is now comprehended under the general name of Barbary, and contains the kingdoms of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli: the maritime part of Lybia, from Carthage westward, was unknown to Herodotus.

# HERODOTUS.



## B O O K V.

### TERPSICHORE.

#### C H A P. I.



THE Persians who had been left in Europe by Darius, under the conduct of Megabyzus, commenced their hostilities on the Hellespont with the conquest of the Perinthii<sup>1</sup>, who had refused to acknowledge the authority of Darius, and had formerly been vanquished by the Pæonians<sup>2</sup>. This latter people, inhabiting the banks of the

<sup>1</sup> *Perinthii.*]—Perinthus was first called Mygdonia, afterwards Heraclea, and then Perinthus.—T.

<sup>2</sup> *Pæonians.*]—As the ancients materially differed in opinion concerning the geographical situation of this people, it is not to be expected that I should speak decisively on the subject. Herodotus here places them near the river Strymon; Dio, near mount Rhodope; and Ptolemy, where the river Haliacmon rises. Pæonia was one of the names of Minerva, given her from her supposed skill in the art of medicine.—T.

Strymon,



Strymon, had been induced by an oracle to make war on the Perinthians : if the Perinthians on their meeting offered them battle, provoking them by name, they were to accept the challenge ; if otherwise, they were to decline all contest. It happened accordingly, that the Perinthians marched into the country of the Pæonians, and encamping before their town, sent them three specific challenges, a man to encounter with a man, a horse with a horse, a dog with a dog. The Perinthians having the advantage in the two former contests, sung with exultation a song of triumph<sup>3</sup> ; this the Pæonians conceived to be the purport of the oracle : " Now," they exclaimed, " the oracle will be fulfilled ; this " is the time for us." They attacked, therefore, the Perinthians, whilst engaged in their imaginary triumph, and obtained so signal a victory that few of their adversaries escaped.

## II. Such was the overthrow which the Perin-

<sup>3</sup> *Song of triumph.*]—Larcher renders this passage " Sung the pæon," and subjoins this note : " Of this song there were two kinds, one was chaunted before the battle, in honour of Mars, the other after the victory, in honour of Apollo ; this song commenced with the words " lo Pæan." The allusion of the word Pæon to the name of the Pæonians, is obvious, to preserve which I have rendered it " sung the Pæon."—The usage and application of the word Pæan, amongst the ancients, was various and equivocal: the composition of Pindar, in praise of all the gods, was called Pæan ; and Pæan was also one of the names of Apollo. To which it may be added, that Pæan, being originally a hymn to Apollo, from his name Pæan, became afterwards extended in its use to such addresses to other gods.

thians received, in their conflict with the Pæonians: on the present occasion they fought valiantly, in defence of their liberties, against Megabyzus, but were overpowered by the superior numbers of the Persians. After the capture of Perinthus, Megabyzus over-ran Thrace with his forces, and reduced all its cities and inhabitants under the power of the king: the conquest of Thrace had been particularly enjoined him by Darius.

III. Next to India, Thrace is of all nations the most considerable<sup>4</sup>: if the inhabitants were either under the government of an individual, or united amongst themselves, their strength would in my opinion render them invincible; but this is a thing impossible, and they are of course but feeble. Each different district has a different appellation; but except the Getæ, the Trausi<sup>5</sup>, and those beyond Crestona, they are marked by a general similitude of manners.

IV. Of the Getæ, who pretend to be immortal, I have before spoken. The Trausi have a general uniformity with the rest of the Thracians, except in what relates to the birth of their children, and the burial of their dead. On the birth of a child, he is placed in the midst of a circle of his relations, who

<sup>4</sup> *Most considerable.*]—Thucydides ranks them after the Scythians, and Pausanias after the Celtæ.—*Larcher.*

<sup>5</sup> *Trausi.*]—These were the people whom the Greeks called Agathyrsi.—*T.*



lament aloud the evils which, as a human being, he must necessarily undergo, all of which they particularly enumerate<sup>6</sup>; but whenever any one dies, the body is committed to the ground with clamorous joy, for the deceased, they say, delivered from his miseries, is then supremely happy.

V. Those beyond the Crestonians have these observances:—Each person has several wives; if the husband dies, a great contest commences amongst his wives, in which the friends of the deceased interest themselves exceedingly, to determine which of them

<sup>6</sup> *Particularly enumerate.*]—A similar sentiment is quoted by Larcher, from a fragment of Euripides, of which the following is the version of Cicero:—

Nam nos decebat cætum celebrantes domus  
Lugere, ubi esset aliquis in lucem editus  
Humanæ vitæ varia reputantes mala  
At qui labores morte finisset graves  
Hunc omni amicos laude et lætitia exsequi.

See also on this subject Gray's fine Ode on a distant Prospect of Eton College:—

Alas ! regardless of their doom,  
The little victims play;  
No sense have they of ills to come,  
Nor care beyond to-day:  
Yet see how all around them wait  
The ministers of human fate,  
And black misfortune's baleful train.  
Ah ! shew them where in ambush stand,  
To seize their prey, the murderous band;  
Ah ! tell them they are men.—  
These shall the fury passions tear ? &c.

T.

had

had been most beloved. She to whom this honour is ascribed is gaudily decked out by her friends, and then sacrificed by her nearest relation on the tomb of her husband<sup>7</sup>, with whom she is afterwards

<sup>7</sup> *Tomb of her husband.*]—This custom was also observed by the Getæ: at this day, in India, women burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands, which usage must have been continued there from remote antiquity. Propertius mentions it:

Et certamen habent leti quæ viva sequatur  
 Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori  
 Ardent victrices et flammæ pectora præbent  
 Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.

Cicero mentions also the same fact. Larcher quotes the passage from the *Tusculan Questions*, of which the following is a translation.

“The women in India, when their husband dies, eagerly contend to have it determined which of them he loved best, for each man has several wives. She who conquers, deems herself happy, is accompanied by her friends to the funeral pile, where her body is burned with that of her husband; they who are vanquished depart in sorrow.”—The civil code of the Indians, requiring this strange sacrifice, is to this effect: “It is proper for a woman, after her husband’s death, to burn herself in the fire with his corpse, unless she be with child, or that her husband be absent, or that she cannot get his turban or his girdle, or unless she devote herself to chastity and celibacy: every woman who thus burns herself shall, according to the decrees of destiny, remain with her husband in paradise for ever.”—“This practice,” says Raynal, “so evidently contrary to reason, has been chiefly derived from the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and of a future life: the hope of being served in the other world by the same persons who obeyed us in this has been the cause of the slave being sacrificed on the tomb of his master, and the wife on the corpse of her husband; but that the Indians, who firmly believed in the transmigration of souls, should give



wards buried: his other wives esteem this an affliction, and it is imputed to them as a great disgrace.

VI. The other Thracians have a custom of selling their children, to be carried out of their country. To their young women they pay no regard, suffering them to connect themselves indiscriminately with men; but they keep a strict guard over their wives, and purchase them of their parents at an immense price. To have punctures on the skin<sup>8</sup> is with them a mark of nobility, to be without these is a testimony of mean descent: the most honourable life with them is a life of indolence; the most contemptible that of an husbandman. Their

way to this prejudice, is one of those numberless inconsistencies which in all parts of the world degrade the human mind."—*See Raynal*, vol. i. 91. The remark, in the main, is just, but the author, I fear, meant to insinuate that practices contrary to reason naturally proceed from the doctrines he mentions; a suggestion which, though very worthy of the class of writers to which he belongs, has not reason enough in it to deserve a serious reply.—*T.*

<sup>8</sup> *Punctures on their skin.*]—If Plutarch may be credited, the Thracians in his time made these punctures on their wives, to revenge the death of Orpheus, whom they had murdered. Phanocles agrees with this opinion, in his poem upon Orpheus, of which a fragment has been preserved by Stobæus. If this be the true reason, it is remarkable that what in its origin was a punishment, became afterwards an ornament, and a mark of nobility.—*Larcher.*

Of such great antiquity does the custom of tattaowing appear to have been, with descriptions of which the modern voyages to the South Sea abound.—*T.*

supreme

supreme delight is in war and plunder.—Such are their more remarkable distinctions.

VII. The gods whom they worship are Mars, Bacchus<sup>9</sup>, and Diana: besides these popular gods, and in preference to them, their princes worship Mercury. They swear by him alone, and call themselves his descendants.

VIII. The funerals of their chief men are of this kind: For three days the deceased is publicly exposed; then having sacrificed animals of every description, and uttered many and loud lamentations, they celebrate a feast<sup>10</sup>, and the body is finally  
either

<sup>9</sup> *Bacchus.*]—That Bacchus was worshipped in Thrace, is attested by many authors, and particularly by Euripides: in the *Rhesus*, attributed to that poet, that prince, after being slain by Ulysses, was transported to the caverns of Thrace by the muse who bore him, and becoming a divinity, he there declared the oracles of Bacchus. In the *Hecuba* of the same author, Bacchus is called the deity of Thrace. Some placed the oracle of Bacchus near mount Pangæa, others near mount Hæmus.—*Larcher.*

<sup>10</sup> *Celebrate a feast.*]—It appears from a passage in *Jeremiah*, that this mixture of mourning and feasting at funerals was very common amongst the Jews:—

“ Both the great and the small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them.

“ Neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead; neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother.



either burned or buried. They afterwards raise a mound of earth" upon the spot, and celebrate games<sup>12</sup> of various kinds, in which each particular contest has a reward assigned suitable to its nature.

IX. With respect to the more northern parts of this region, and its inhabitants, nothing has been yet decisively ascertained. What lies beyond the Ister, is a vast and almost endless space. The whole

"Thou shalt not also go into the house of feasting, to sit with them to eat and to drink."—xvi. 6, 7, 8.

The same custom is still observed in the countries of the east.—*T.*

"*Mound of earth.*"]—Over the place of burial of illustrious persons, they raised a kind of tumulus of earth. This is well expressed in the "*ingens aggeritur tumulo tellus*," of Virgil.—*Larcher.*

The practice of raising barrows over the bodies of the deceased was almost universal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice among the Greeks and Trojans. Virgil alludes to it as usual in the times treated of in the *Æneid*. Xenophon relates that it obtained among the Persians. The Roman historians record that the same mode of interring took place among their countrymen; and it appears to have prevailed no less among the ancient Germans, and many other uncivilized nations.—See *Coxe's Travels through Poland, &c.*

"*Celebrate games.*"]—It is impossible to say when funeral games were first instituted. According to Pliny, they existed before the time of Theseus; and many have supposed that the famous games of Greece were in their origin funeral games. The best description of these is to be found in Homer and in Virgil. In the former, those celebrated by Achilles in honour of Patroclus; in the latter, those of Æneas in memory of his father.—*T.*

of

of this, as far as I am able to learn, is inhabited by the Sigynæ, a people who in dress resemble the Medes; their horses are low in stature, and of a feeble make, but their hair grows to the length of five digits; they are not able to carry a man, but, yoked to a carriage, are remarkable for their swiftness, for which reason carriages are here very common. The confines of this people extend almost to the Eneti<sup>13</sup> on the Adriatic. They call themselves a colony of the Medes<sup>14</sup>; how this could be, I am not able to determine, though in a long series of time it may not have been impossible. The Sigynæ are called merchants<sup>15</sup> by the Ligurians,

<sup>13</sup> *Eneti,*] or rather Heneti, which aspirate, represented by the Æolic digamma, forms the Latin name Veneti. Their horses were anciently in great estimation. See the Hippolytus of Euripides, ver. 230. Homer speaks of their mules.—T.

<sup>14</sup> *Colony of the Medes.*]—Strabo says that this people observed in a great measure the customs of the Persians: thus the people whom Herodotus calls Medes might be considered as genuine Persians, according to his custom of confounding their names, if Diodorus Siculus had not decided the matter.

<sup>15</sup> *Called merchants.*]—The whole of this sentence Larcher omits, giving as his opinion, that it was inserted by some Scholiast in the margin, and had thence found its way into the text. For my part, I see no reason for this; and I think the explication given by the Abbé Bellanger, in his *Essais de Critique sur les Traduct. d'Herodote*, may fairly be accepted. Herodotus means, says he, to inform his reader, that Sigynæ is not an unusual word; the Ligurians use it for merchants, the Cyprians for spears.—But if this be true, the following version by Littlebury must appear absurd enough: “The Ligurians,” says he, “who inhabit beyond Marseilles, call the Sigynes brokers; and the Cyprians give them the name of javelins.”—T.



who live beyond Massilia: with the Cyprians, *Sigynæ* is the name for spears.

X. The Thracians affirm that the places beyond the Ister are possessed wholly by bees, and that a passage beyond this is impracticable. To me this seems altogether impossible, for the bee is an insect known to be very impatient of cold <sup>16</sup>; the extremity of which, as I should think, is what renders the parts to the north uninhabitable. The sea-coast of this region was reduced by Megabyzus under the power of Persia.

XI. Darius having crossed the Hellespont, went immediately to Sardis, where he neither forgot the service of Histæus, nor the advice of Coës of Mitylene. He accordingly sent for these two persons, and desired them to ask what they would. Histæus, who was tyrant of Miletus, wished for no accession of power; he merely required the Edonian <sup>17</sup> Myncinus, with the view of building there

<sup>16</sup> *Impatient of cold.*]—This remark of Herodotus concerning bees, is in a great measure true, because all apiaries are found to succeed and thrive best, which are exposed to a degree of middle temperature: yet it would be difficult perhaps to ascertain the precise degree of cold in which bees would cease to live and multiply. Modern experiments have made it obviously appear, that in severe winters this insect has perished as frequently from famine as from cold. It is also well known that bees have lived in hollow trees in the colder parts of Russia.  
—T.

<sup>17</sup> *Edonian.*]—This district is by some writers placed in Thrace,

there a city: Coës, on the contrary, who was a private individual, wished to be made prince of Mitylene. Having obtained what they severally desired, they departed.

XII. Darius, induced by a circumstance of which he was accidentally witness, required Megabyzus to transport the Pæonians from Europe to Asia. Pigres and Mantyes were natives of Pæonia, the government of which became the object of their ambition. With these views, when Darius had passed over into Asia, they betook themselves to Sardis, carrying with them their sister, a person of great elegance and beauty. As Darius was sitting publicly in that division of the city appropriate to the Lydians, they took the opportunity of executing the following artifice: they decorated their sister in the best manner they were able, and sent her to draw water; she had a vessel upon her head<sup>13</sup>, she led a horse

Thrace, by others in Macedonia. The *o* is used long by Virgil, and short by Lucan:

Ac velut Edoni Boreæ cum spiritus alto.

*Æn.* xii. 365.

Nam qualis vertice Pindi  
Edonis Ogygio decurrit plena Lyæo.

*Luc.* i. 674. T.

<sup>13</sup> *Upon her head.*]—Nicolas Damascenus tells a similar story of Alyattes king of Sardis. This prince was one day sitting before the walls of the town; when he beheld a Thracian woman with an urn on her head, a distaff and spindle in her hand, and behind her a horse secured by a bridle. The king, astonished,



a horse by a bridle fastened round her arm, and she was moreover spinning some thread. Darius viewed her as she passed with attentive curiosity, observing that her employments were not those of a Persian, Lydian, nor indeed of any Asiatic female. He was prompted by what he had seen to send some of his attendants, who might observe what she did with the horse. They accordingly followed her: the woman, when she came to the river, gave her horse some water, and then filled her pitcher. Having done this, she returned by the way she came; with the pitcher of water on her head, the horse fastened by a bridle to her arm, and as before employed in spinning.

XIII. Darius, equally surprized at what he heard from his servants and had seen himself, sent for the woman to his presence. On her appearance, the brothers, who had observed all from a convenient situation, came forwards, and declared that they were Pæonians, and the woman their sister. Upon

nished, asked her who and of what country she was? She replied, she was of Mysia, a district of Thrace. In consequence of this adventure, the king by his ambassadors desired Cotys prince of Thrace to send him a colony from that country, of men, women, and children.—*Larcher*.

The Mysia mentioned in the above account is called by some Greek writers *Mysia in Europe*, to distinguish it from the province of that name in Asia Minor; but Pliny, and most of the Latin writers, distinguish it more effectually, by writing it *Mœsia*; in which form it will be found in the maps, extending along the southern side of the Danube, opposite to Dacia: being the tract which forms the modern Servia and Bulgaria.

this

this Darius enquired who the Pæonians were, where was their country, and what had induced themselves to come to Sardis. The young men replied, "that as to themselves, their only motive was a desire of entering into his service; that Pæonia their country was situated on the banks of the river Strymon, at no great distance from the Hellespont." They added, "that the Pæonians were a Trojan colony." Darius then enquired if all the women of their country were thus accustomed to labour; they replied without hesitation in the affirmative, for this was the point they had particularly in view.

XIV. In consequence of the above, Darius sent letters to Megabyzus, whom he had left commander of his forces in Thrace, ordering him to remove all the Pæonians to Sardis, with their wives and families. The courier sent with this message instantly made his way to the Hellespont, which having passed, he presented Megabyzus with the orders of his master. Megabyzus accordingly lost no time in executing them; but taking with him some Thracian guides<sup>19</sup>, led his army against Pæonia.

XV. The Pæonians being aware of the intentions of the Persians, collected their forces, and advanced towards the sea, imagining the enemy would

<sup>19</sup> *Thracian guides.*]—The French translators of Herodotus who preceded Larcher, mistaking the Latin version, *sumptis e Thraciâ ducibus*, have rendered this passage, "commanda aux capitaines de Thrace."—7.

there



there make their attack : thus they prepared themselves to resist the invasion of Megabyzus : but the Persian general being informed that every approach from the sea was guarded by their forces, under the direction of his guides made a circuit by the higher parts of the country, and thus eluding the Pæonians, came unexpectedly upon their towns, of which, as they were generally deserted, he took possession without difficulty. The Pæonians, informed of this event, dispersed themselves, and returning to their families submitted to the Persians. Thus, the Pæonians, the Syropæonians, the Pæoplæ, and they who possess the country as far as the Prasian lake, were removed from their habitations, and transported to Asia,

XVI. The people in the vicinity of mount Pangæus<sup>20</sup>, with the Doberæ, the Agrianæ, Odomanti, and those of the Prasian lake, Megabyzus was not able to subdue. They who lived upon the lake, in dwellings of the following construction, were the objects of his next attempt. In this lake strong piles<sup>21</sup> are driven into the ground, over which planks are thrown, connected by a narrow bridge with the shore. These erections were in former times made at the public expence ; but a law afterwards passed, obliging a man for every wife whom he should marry

<sup>20</sup> *Pangæus.*]—This place, as Herodotus informs us in the seventh book, possessed both gold and silver mines.—*T.*

<sup>21</sup> *Strong piles, &c.*]—Exemplum urbis in fluvio super tignis et tabulatis structæ in America habet Teixeira.—*Reiske.*

(and they allow a plurality) to drive three of these piles into the ground, taken from a mountain called Orbelus. Upon these planks each man has his hut, from every one of which a trap-door opens to the water. To prevent their infants from falling into the lake, they fasten a string to their legs. Their horses and cattle are fed principally with fish<sup>22</sup>, of which there is such abundance, that if any one lets down a basket into the water, and steps aside, he may presently after draw it up full of fish. Of these they have two particular species, called papraces and tilones.

XVII. Such of the Pæonians as were taken captive were removed into Asia. After the conquest of this people, Megabyzus sent into Macedonia seven Persians of his army, next in dignity and estimation to himself, requiring of Amyntas, in the name of Darius, earth and water. From the lake Prasís to Macedonia there is a very short passage; for upon the very brink of the lake is found the mine which in after-times produced to Alexander a talent every day. Next to this mine is the Dyfian mount, which being passed, you enter Macedonia.

XVIII. The Persians on their arrival were admitted to an immediate audience of Amyntas, when

<sup>22</sup> *With fish.*]—Torffæus, in his History of Norway, informs us, that in the cold and maritime parts of Europe cattle are fed with fish.—*Wesseling.*

they



they demanded of him, in the name of Darius, earth and water. This was not only granted, but Amyntas received the messengers hospitably into his family, gave them a splendid entertainment, and treated them with particular kindness. When after the entertainment they began to drink, one of the Persians thus addressed Amyntas: "Prince of Macedonia, it is a custom with us Persians, whenever we have a public entertainment, to introduce our concubines and young wives. Since therefore you have received us kindly, and with the rites of hospitality, and have also acknowledged the claims of Darius, in giving him earth and water, imitate the custom we have mentioned." "Persians," replied Amyntas, "our manners are very different, for our women are kept separate from the men. But since you are our masters, and require it, what you solicit shall be granted." Amyntas therefore sent for the women, who on their coming were seated opposite to the Persians. The Persians observing them beautiful, told Amyntas that he was still defective: "For it were better," they exclaimed, "that they had not come at all, than on their appearing not to suffer them to sit near us, but to place them opposite, as a kind of torment to our eyes<sup>21</sup>." Amyntas, acting thus under compulsion,

<sup>21</sup> *Torment to our eyes.*]—This passage has been the occasion of much critical controversy. Longinus censures it as frigid. Many learned men, in opposition to Longinus, have vindicated the

sion, directed the women to sit with the Persians. The women obeyed, and the Persians, warmed by their wine, began to put their hands to their bosoms, and to kiss them.

the expression. Pearce, in his Commentaries, is of opinion that those who in this instance have opposed themselves to Longinus have not entered into the precise meaning of that critic. The historian, he observes, does not mean to say that the beauty of these females might not excite dolores oculorum, but they could not themselves properly be termed dolores oculorum. Pearce quotes a passage from Æschylus, where Helen is called *μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος*, the tender dart of the eyes. Alexander the Great called the Persian women *βολιδας ὀμμάτων*, the darts of the eyes. After all, to me at least, considering it was used by natives of Persia, and making allowance for the warm and figurative language of the east, the expression seems to require neither comment nor vindication. In some classical lines written by Cowley, called The Account, I find this strong expression:

When all the stars are by thee told,  
The endless sums of heavenly gold;  
Or when the hairs are reckon'd all,  
From sickly Autumn's head that fall;  
Or when the drops that make the sea,  
Whilst all her sands thy counters be,  
Thou then, and then alone, may'st prove  
Th' arithmetician of my love.  
An hundred loves at Athens score;  
At Corinth write an hundred more;  
Three hundred more at Rhodes and Crete,  
Three hundred 'tis I'm sure complete,  
For arms at Crete each face does bear,  
*And every eye's an archer there, &c.*

When we consider that the Cretan archers were celebrated beyond all others, this expression will not seem much less bold or figurative than that of Herodotus.—T.



XIX. Amyntas observed this indecency, and with great vexation, though his awe of the Persians induced him not to notice it. But his son Alexander, who was also present, and witnessed their behaviour, being in the vigour of youth, and hitherto without experience of calamity, was totally unable to bear it. "Sir," said he to Amyntas, being much incensed, "your age is a sufficient excuse for your retiring; leave me to preside at the banquet, and to pay such attention to our guests as shall be proper and necessary." Amyntas could not but observe that the warmth of youth prompted his son to some act of boldness; he accordingly made him this reply: "I can plainly see your motive for soliciting my absence; you desire me to go, that you may perpetrate somewhat to which your spirit impels you; but I must insist upon it<sup>24</sup>, that you do not occasion our ruin by molesting these men; suffer their indignities patiently.—I shall however follow your advice, and retire." With these words Amyntas left them.

XX. Upon this Alexander thus addressed the Persians: "You are at liberty, Sirs, to repose yourselves with any or with all of these females; I

<sup>24</sup> *Insist upon it.*]—The reader will in this place, I presume, be naturally suspicious that the good old king Amyntas was well aware what his son Alexander intended to perpetrate. If he suspected what was about to be done, and had not wished its accomplishment, he would probably, notwithstanding his age, have stayed and prevented it.—T.

“ have only to require, that you will make your  
 “ choice known to me. It is now almost time to  
 “ retire, and I can perceive that our wine has had  
 “ its effect upon you. You will please therefore  
 “ to suffer these women to go and bathe them-  
 “ selves, and they shall afterwards return.” The  
 Persians approved of what he said, and the women  
 retired to their proper apartments; but, in their  
 room, he dressed up an equal number of smooth-  
 faced young men, and arming each with a dag-  
 ger, he introduced them to the company. “ Per-  
 “ sians,” said he, on their entering, “ we have given  
 “ you a magnificent entertainment, and supplied  
 “ you with every thing in our power to procure.  
 “ We have also, which with us weighs more than  
 “ all the rest, presented you with our matrons and  
 “ our sisters, that we might not appear to you in  
 “ any respect insensible of your merits; and that  
 “ you may inform the king your master with what  
 “ liberality a Greek and prince of Macedonia has  
 “ entertained you at bed and at board.” When  
 he had thus said, Alexander commanded the Ma-  
 cedonians, whom he addressed as females, to sit by  
 the side of the Persians; but on their first attempt  
 to touch them, the Macedonians put every one of  
 them to death.

XXI. These Persians with their retinue thus  
 forfeited their lives; they had been attended on this  
 expedition with a number of carriages and servants,  
 all of which were seized and plundered. At no  
 great interval of time, a strict inquisition was made



by the Persians into this business; but Alexander, by his discretion, obviated its effects. To Bubaris<sup>25</sup>, a native of Persia, and one of those<sup>26</sup> who had been sent to enquire into the death of his countrymen, he made very liberal presents, and gave his sister in marriage. By these means the assassination of the Persian officers was overlooked and forgotten.

XXII. These Greeks were descended from Perdiccas: this they themselves affirm, and indeed I myself know it, from certain circumstances which I shall hereafter relate. My opinion of this matter is also confirmed by the determination of those who preside at the Olympic games<sup>27</sup>: for when Alexander, with

<sup>25</sup> *Bubaris.*]—It appears from book the seventh, chap. 21, of our author, that this Bubaris was the son of Megabyzus.—*T.*

<sup>26</sup> *One of those.*]—It is contended by Valknaer, and who is answered by Larcher, in a very long note, that instead of τῶν στρατηγῶν, it should be τῷ στρατηγῷ, that is in fact, whether it should be “one of those,” &c. or “chief of those,” &c. Which of these is the more proper reading, is not, I think, of sufficient importance to warrant any hasty suspicion, not to say alteration of the text. That Bubaris was a man of rank we know, for he was the son of Megabyzus; that he was the chief of those employed on this occasion, may be presumed, from his receiving from Alexander many liberal presents, and his own sister in marriage.—*T.*

<sup>27</sup> *Preside at the Olympic games.*]—The judges who presided at the Olympic games were called Hellanodicæ; their number varied at different times; they were a long time ten, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the number of the Elean tribes; but it finally reverted to ten. They did not all judge promiscuously at every contest, but only such as were deputed to

do

with an ambition of distinguishing himself, expressed a desire of entering the lists, the Greeks, who were his competitors, repelled him with scorn, asserting, that this was a contest, not of Barbarians, but of Greeks; but he proved himself to be an Argive, and was consequently allowed to be a Greek. He was then permitted to contend, and was paired with the first combatant <sup>28</sup>.

do so. Their decisions might be appealed from, and they might even be accused before the senate of Olympia, who sometimes set aside their determinations. They who were elected Hellenodiceæ were compelled to reside ten months successively in a building appropriated to their use at Olympia, and named from them the Hellenodiceæon, in order to instruct themselves, previous to their entering on their office.—*Larcher*.

<sup>28</sup> *With the first combatant.*]—See Lucian, *Hermotimus*, vol. i. p. 782-3.—*Hemsterhusius*.

*Lycinus*.—Do not, *Hermotimus*, tell me what anciently was done, but what you yourself have seen at no great distance of time.

*Hermotimus*.—A silver urn was produced sacred to the god, into which some small lots of the size of beans were thrown: two of these are inscribed with the letter A, two more with B, two others with G, and so on, according to the number of competitors, there being always two lots marked with the same letter. The combatants then advanced one by one, and calling on the name of Jupiter, put his hand into the urn, and drew out a lot. An officer stood near with a cudgel in his hand, and ready to strike if any one attempted to see what letter he had drawn. Then the Alytarch, or one of the Hellenodiceæ, obliging them to stand in a circle, paired such together as had drawn the same letter. If the number of competitors was not equal, he who drew the odd letter was matched against the victor, which was no small advantage, as he had to enter the lists quite fresh against a man already fatigued.



XXIII. I have related the facts which happened. Megabyzus, taking the Pæonians along with him, passed the Hellespont, and arrived at Sardis. At this period, Histæus the Milesian was engaged in defending with a wall the place which had been given him by Darius, as a reward for his preserving the bridge; it is called Myncinus<sup>29</sup>, and is near the river Strymon. Megabyzus, as soon as he came to Sardis, and learned what had been done with respect to Histæus, thus addressed Darius:

“ Have you, Sir, done wisely, in permitting a  
 “ Greek of known activity and abilities to erect a  
 “ city in Thrace? in a place which abounds with  
 “ every requisite for the construction and equip-  
 “ ment of ships; and where there are also mines of  
 “ silver? A number of Greeks are there, mixed  
 “ with Barbarians, who, making him their leader,  
 “ will be ready on every occasion to execute his  
 “ commands. Suffer him therefore to proceed no  
 “ farther, lest a civil war be the consequence. Do  
 “ not, however, use violent measures; but when  
 “ you shall have him in your power, take care to  
 “ prevent the possibility of his return to Greece.”

XXIV. Darius was easily induced to yield to the arguments of Megabyzus, of whose sagacity he entirely approved. He immediately therefore sent him a message to the following purport: “ His-  
 “ tiæus, king Darius considers you as one of the

<sup>29</sup> *Myncinus*.]—This place in some books of geography is written *Myncenus*.—T.

“ ablest supports of his throne, of which he has  
 “ already received the strongest testimony. He  
 “ has now in contemplation a business of great  
 “ importance, and requires your presence and ad-  
 “ vice.” Histiaëus believed the messenger, and,  
 delighted with the idea of being invited to the  
 king’s councils, hastened to Sardis, where on his  
 arrival Darius thus addressed him: “ Histiaëus,  
 “ my motive for soliciting your presence is this ;  
 “ my not seeing you at my return from Scythia  
 “ filled me with the extremest regret ; my desire to  
 “ converse with you continually increased, being  
 “ well convinced that there is no treasure so great  
 “ as a sincere and sagacious friend, for of your truth  
 “ as well as prudence I have received the most sa-  
 “ tisfactory proofs. You have done well in coming  
 “ to me ; I therefore intreat that, forgetting Miletus,  
 “ and leaving the city you have recently built in  
 “ Thrace, you will accompany me to Susa ; you  
 “ shall there have apartments in my palace, and  
 “ live with me, my companion and my friend.”

XXV. Darius having thus accomplished his  
 wishes, took Histiaëus with him, and departed for  
 Susa. Artaphernes, his brother by the father’s  
 side, was left governor of Sardis ; Otanes was en-  
 trusted with the command of the sea-coast. Si-  
 samnes, the father of the latter, had been one of the  
 royal judges ; but having been guilty of corrup-  
 tion in the execution of his office, was put to  
 death by Cambyfes. By order of this prince, the  
 entire skin was taken from his body, and fixed over the



tribunal<sup>30</sup> at which he formerly presided. Cambyſes gave the office of Siſamnes to his ſon Otanes, commanding him to have conſtantly in memory in what tribunal he ſat.

XXVI. Otanes having at firſt the above appointment, ſucceeded afterwards to the command of Megabyzus, when he reduced Byzantium and Chalcedon. He took alſo Lamponium<sup>31</sup> and Antandros<sup>32</sup>, which latter is in the province of Troy. With the aſſiſtance of a fleet from Lesbos, he made himſelf maſter of Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgi.

XXVII. The Lemnians fought with great bravery, and made a long and vigorous reſiſtance, but were at length ſubdued. Over ſuch as ſurvived the conflict the Perſians appointed Lycaretus governor; he was the brother of Mæander, who had

<sup>30</sup> *Fixed over the tribunal.*]—This it ſeems was a common cuſtom in Perſia; and corrupt judges were ſometimes flayed alive, and their ſkins afterwards thus diſpoſed. Larcher quotes a paſſage from Diodorus Siculus, which informs us that Artaxerxes puniſhed ſome unjuſt judges preciſely in this manner.—*T.*

<sup>31</sup> *Lamponium.*]—Pliny, and I believe Strabo, call this place Lamporea. It was an iſland of the Chersonese.

<sup>32</sup> *Antandros.*]—

Classemque sub ipsâ

Antandro et Phrygiæ molimur montibus Idæ.

*Virg. Æn. iii. 5.*

This place has experienced a variety of names, Affos, Apollonia, and now Dimitri.—*T.*

reigned

reigned at Samos, but he died during his government. All the above-mentioned people were reduced to servitude: it was pretended that some had been deserters in the Scythian expedition, and that others had harrassed Darius in his retreat. Such was the conduct of Otanes in his office, which he did not long enjoy with tranquillity.

XXVIII. The Ionians were soon visited by new calamities, from Miletus and from Naxos<sup>33</sup>. Of all the islands, Naxos was the happiest; but Miletus might be deemed the pride of Ionia, and was at that time in the height of its prosperity. In the two preceding ages it had been considerably weakened by internal factions, but the tranquillity of its inhabitants was finally restored by the interposition of the Parians<sup>34</sup>, whom the Milesians had preferred on this occasion to all the other Greeks.

## XXIX.

<sup>33</sup> *Naxos*.]—This place was first called Strongyle, afterwards Dia, and then Naxos; there was a place of this name also in Sicily. The Naxos of the Ægean is now called Naxia; it was anciently famous for its whetstones, and Naxia cos became a proverb. In classical story, this island is famous for being the place where Theseus, returning from Crete, forsook Ariadne, who afterwards became the wife of Bacchus: a very minute and satisfactory account of the ancient and modern condition of this island, is to be found in Tournefort. Stephens the geographer says, that the women of Naxos went with child but eight months, and that the island possessed a spring of pure wine.—T.

<sup>34</sup> *Parians*.]—The inhabitants of Paros have always been accounted people of good sense, and the Greeks of the neigh-



XXIX. To heal the disorders which existed amongst them, the Parians applied the following remedy:—Those employed in this office were of considerable distinction; and perceiving, on their arrival at Miletus, that the whole state was involved in extreme confusion, they desired to examine the condition of their territories: wherever, in their progress through this desolate country, they observed any lands well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the owner. In the whole district, however, they found but few estates so circumstanced. Returning to Miletus, they called an assembly of the people, and they placed the direction of affairs in the hands of those who had best cultivated their lands; for they concluded, that they would be watchful of the public interest who had taken care of their own: they enjoined all the Milesians who had before been factious, to obey these, and they thus restored the general tranquillity.

XXX. The evils which the Ionians experienced from these cities were of this nature:—Some of the more noble inhabitants of Naxos were driven by the common people into banishment; they sought a refuge at Miletus; Miletus was then governed by Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras, the son-in-law and cousin of Histiaëus, son of Lysagoras, whom Darius detained at Susa: Histiaëus was

Bouring islands often make them arbitrators of their disputes.  
—See Tournefort, who gives an excellent account of this island.

prince

prince of Miletus, but was at Susa when the Naxians arrived in his dominions. These exiles petitioned Aristagoras to assist them with supplies, to enable them to return to their country: he immediately conceived the idea, that by accomplishing their return, he might eventually become master of Naxos. He thought proper, however, to remind them of the alliance which subsisted betwixt Histæus and their countrymen; and he addressed them as follows: “I am not master of adequate force  
 “to restore you to your country, if they who are  
 “in possession of Naxos shall think proper to oppose me: the Naxians, I am told, have eight  
 “thousand men in arms, and many ships of war;  
 “I, nevertheless, wish to effect it, and I think it  
 “may be thus accomplished—Artaphernes, son of  
 “Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, is my particular friend; he has the command of all the sea-coast of Asia, and is provided with a numerous  
 “army, and a powerful fleet; he will, I think, do  
 “all that I desire.” The Naxians instantly intrusted Anaxagoras with the management of the business, intreating him to complete it as he could: they engaged to assist the expedition with forces, and to make presents to Artaphernes; and they expressed great hopes that as soon as they should appear before the place, Naxos, with the rest of the islands, would immediately submit; for hitherto none of the Cyclades were under the power of Darius.

XXXI. Aristagoras went immediately to Sardis,  
 where



where meeting with Artaphernes, he painted to him in flattering terms the island of Naxos, which, though of no great extent, he represented as exceedingly fair and fertile, conveniently situated with respect to Ionia, very wealthy, and remarkably populous.—“It will be worth your while,” said he, “to make an expedition against it, under pretence of restoring its exiles; to facilitate this, I already possess a considerable sum of money, besides what will be otherwise supplied. It is proper that we who set the expedition on foot should provide the contingent expences; but you will certainly acquire to the king our master, Naxos with its dependencies, Paros and Andros, with the rest of the islands called the Cyclades: from hence you may easily attempt the invasion of Eubœa<sup>35</sup>, an island large and fertile, and not at all inferior to Cyprus; this will afford you an easy conquest, and a fleet of an hundred ships will be sufficient to effect the whole.” To this Artaphernes replied, “What you recommend will, unquestionably, promote the interest of the king, and the particulars of your advice are reasonable and consistent; instead of one hundred, a fleet of two hundred vessels shall be ready for you in the beginning of spring; it will be proper,

<sup>35</sup> *Eubœa*.]—This large island is now commonly called Negropont or Negrepont, by the Europeans; which is a corruption of its proper appellation *Egripo*: anciently it had, at different times, a great variety of names, Macris, Chalcis, Asopis, &c. At Artemisium, one of its promontories, the first battle was fought betwixt Xerxes and the Greeks.—T.

“ however,

“ however, to have the sanction of the king’s authority.”

XXXII. Pleased with the answer he received, Aristagoras returned to Miletus. Artaphernes sent immediately to acquaint Darius with the project of Aristagoras, which met his approbation; he accordingly fitted out two hundred triremes, which he manned partly with Persians and partly with their allies: Megabates had the command of the whole, a Persian of the family of the Achæmenides, related to Darius and himself, whose daughter, if report may be credited <sup>36</sup>, was, in succeeding times, betrothed to Pausanias the Lacedæmonian, son of Cleombrotus, who aspired to the sovereignty of Greece. These forces, under the direction of this Megabates, were sent by Artaphernes to Aristagoras.

XXXIII. Megabates embarking at Miletus, with Aristagoras, a body of Ionians, and the Naxians, pretended to sail towards the Hellespont; but arriving at Chios, he laid-to near Caucaſa <sup>37</sup>,  
meaning,

<sup>36</sup> *If report may be credited.*]—It appears by this, that when Herodotus composed this work, he had no knowledge of the letter in which Pausanias demanded of Xerxes his daughter in marriage.—It may be seen in Thucydides.—*Larcher*.

<sup>37</sup> *Near Caucaſa.*]—This passage has been erroneously rendered, by the French translators of Herodotus who preceded Larcher, as well as by our countryman Littlebury, “ over-against mount Caucasus;” but whoever will be at the pains to attend to the  
the



meaning, under the favour of a north wind, to pass from thence to Naxos. The following circumstance, however, happened, as if to prove that it was not ordained for the Naxians to suffer from this expedition:—Megabates, in going his rounds, found a Myndian vessel deserted by its crew; he was so exasperated, that he commanded his guards to find Scylax, who commanded it, and to bind him in such a situation, that his head should appear outwardly from the aperture through which the oar passed, his body remaining in the vessel. Aristagoras being informed of the treatment which his friend the Myndian had received, went to Megabates to make his excuse, and obtain his liberty; but as his expostulations proved ineffectual, he went himself and released Scylax. Megabates was much incensed, and expressed his displeasure to Aristagoras; from whom he received this reply: “Your authority,” said Aristagoras, “does not extend so far as you suppose; you were sent to attend me, and to sail wherever I should think expedient;—you are much too officious.” Megabates took this reproach so ill, that at the approach of night he dispatched some emissaries to Naxos, to acquaint the inhabitants with the intended invasion.

the geographical distances of mount Caucasus and the islands of the Ægean sea, Chios and Naxos, will easily perceive that the place here meant must be some strait in the island of Chios, or some small island in its vicinity.—See the *Essais de Critique sur les Traductions d’Herodote*, by the Abbé Bellanger.—  
 7.

XXXIV. Of this attack the Naxians had not the remotest expectation; but they took the advantage of the intelligence imparted to them, and provided against a siege, by removing their valuables from the fields to the town, and by laying up a store of water and provisions, and, lastly, by repairing their walls; they were thus prepared against every emergence, whilst the Persians, passing over from Chios to Naxos, found the place in a perfect state of defence. Having wasted four months in the attack, and exhausted all the pecuniary resources which themselves had brought, together with what Aristagoras supplied, they still found that much was wanting to accomplish their purpose; they erected, therefore, a fort for the Naxian exiles, and returned to the continent greatly disappointed.

XXXV. Aristagoras thus found himself unable to fulfil his engagements with Artaphernes; and he was also, to his great vexation, called upon to defray the expence of the expedition: he saw, moreover, in the person of Megabates, an accuser, and he feared that their ill success should be imputed to him, and made a pretence for depriving him of his authority at Miletus; all these motives induced him to meditate a revolt. Whilst he was in this perplexity, a messenger arrived from Histiaëus, at Susa, who brought with him an express command to revolt; the particulars of which were impressed in legible



legible characters upon his scull <sup>38</sup>. Histiaëus was desirous to communicate his intentions to Aristagoras, but as the ways were strictly guarded, he could devise no other method ; he therefore took one of the most faithful of his slaves, and inscribed what we have mentioned upon his scull, being first shaved ; he detained the man till his hair was again grown, when he sent him to Miletus, desiring him to be as expeditious as possible ; and simply requesting Aristagoras to examine his scull, he discovered the characters which commanded him to commence a revolt. To this measure Histiaëus was induced, by the vexation

<sup>38</sup> *Upon his scull.*]—Many curious contrivances are on record, of which the ancients availed themselves to convey secret intelligence. Ovid mentions an example of a letter inscribed on a person's back :

Caveat hoc custos, pro charta, conscia tergum  
Præbeat, inque suo corpore verba ferat.

The circumstance here mentioned by Herodotus is told at greater length by Aulus Gellius, who says that Histiaëus chose one of his domestics for this purpose who had sore eyes, to cure which he told him that his hair must be shaved, and his head scarified ; having done which, he wrote what he intended on the man's head, and then sent him to Aristagoras, who, he told him, would effect his cure by shaving his head a second time. Josephus mentions a variety of stratagems to effect this purpose ; some were sent in coffins, during the Jewish war, to convey intelligence ; others crept out of places disguised like dogs ; some have conveyed their intentions in various articles of food : and in bishop Wilkin's Mercury, where a number of examples of this nature are collected, mention is made of a person, who rolled up a letter in a wax candle, bidding the messenger inform the party that was to receive it, that the candle would give him light for his business.—T.

he

he experienced from his captivity at Susa. He flattered himself, that as soon as Aristagoras was in action he should be able to escape to the sea-coast; but whilst every thing remained quiet at Miletus, he had no prospect of effecting his return.

XXXVI. With these views Histiaëus dispatched his emissary; the message he delivered to Aristagoras was alike grateful and seasonable, who accordingly signified to his party, that his own opinions were confirmed by the commands of Histiaëus: his intentions to commence a revolt met with the general approbation of the assembly, Hecataëus the historian being the only one who dissented. To dissuade them from any act of hostility against the Persian monarch, he enumerated the various nations which Darius had subdued, and the prodigious power he possessed: when he found these arguments ineffectual, he advised them to let their fleet take immediate possession of the sea, as the only means by which they might expect success. He confessed that the resources of the Milesians were but few; but he suggested the idea, that if they would make a seizure of the wealth deposited by Cræsus the Lydian in the Branchidian temple<sup>39</sup>, they might promise themselves these two advanta-

<sup>39</sup> *Branchidian temple.*]—For an account of the temple of Branchidæ, see vol. i. p. 47. “If Aristagoras,” says Larcher, “had followed the prudent counsel of Hecataëus, he would have had an increase of power against the Persian, and deprived Xerxes of the opportunity of pillaging this temple, and employing its riches against Greece.”—T.



ges; they would be able to make themselves masters of the sea, and by thus using these riches themselves would prevent their being plundered by the enemy.—That these riches were of very considerable value, I have explained in my first book. This advice, however, was as ill received, although the determination to revolt was fixed and universal: it was agreed, that one of their party should sail to the army, which, on its return from Naxos, had disembarked at Myus <sup>40</sup>, with the view of seizing the persons of the officers.

XXXVII. Iatragoras was the person employed in this business; who so far succeeded, that he captured Oliatus the Mylassensian, son of Ibanolis, Histæus of Termene <sup>41</sup>, son of Tymnis, Coës the son of Erxander, to whom Darius had given Mitylene, together with Aristagoras the Cymæan, son of Heraclides, with many others. Aristagoras thus commenced a regular revolt, full of indignation against

<sup>40</sup> *Myus.*]—This city was given to Themistocles, to furnish his table with fish, with which the bay of Myus formerly abounded: the bay, in process of time, became a fresh-water lake, and produced such swarms of gnats, that the inhabitants deserted the place, and were afterwards incorporated with the Milesians. Chandler, who visited this place, complains that the old nuisance of Myus tormented him and his companions exceedingly, and that towards the evening the inside of their tent was made quite black by the number of gnats which infested them.—*T.*

<sup>41</sup> *Termene.*]—Larcher remarks on this word, that no such place existed in Caria as Termene, which is the common reading: it certainly ought to be Termene.—*T.*

Darius.

Darius. To engage the Milesians to act in concert with him, he established among them a republican form of government. He adopted a similar conduct with respect to the rest of Ionia; and to excite a general prejudice in his favour, he expelled the tyrants from some places, and he also sent back those who had been taken in the vessels which served against Naxos, to the cities to which they severally belonged.

XXXVIII. The inhabitants of Mitylene had no sooner got Coës into their hands, than they put him to death, by stoning him. The Cymeans sent their tyrant back again; and the generality of those who had possessed the supreme authority being driven into exile, an equal form of government was established: this being accomplished, Aristagoras the Milesian directed magistrates<sup>42</sup>, elected by the people, to be established in the different cities; after which he himself sailed in a trireme to Lacedæmon, convinced of the necessity of procuring some powerful allies.

XXXIX. Anaxandrides, son of Leontes, did not then sit upon the throne of Sparta; he was deceased, and his son Cleomenes had succeeded him, rather on account of his family than his virtues: Anaxan-

<sup>42</sup> *Magistrates.*]—The original is *σφαρηνος*, which, as M. Larcher remarks, does not in this place mean the leader of an army, but a magistrate, corresponding with the archons of Athens, &c.—T.



drides had married his niece, of whom he was exceedingly fond, though she produced him no children; in consequence of which the ephori thus expostulated with him: "If you do not feel for yourself, you ought for us, and not suffer the race of Eurysthenes to be extinguished. As the wife which you now have is barren, repudiate her and marry another, by which you will much gratify your countrymen." He replied, that he could not comply with either of their requests, as he did not think them to be justified in recommending him to divorce an innocent woman, and to marry another.

XL. The ephori consulted with the senate, and made him this reply: "We observe your excessive attachment to your wife; but if you would avoid the resentment of your countrymen, do what we advise: we will not insist upon your repudiating your present wife,—behave to her as you have always done; but we wish you to marry another, by whom you may have offspring."—To this Anaxandrides assented, and from that time had two wives<sup>43</sup>, and two separate dwellings, contrary to the usage of his country.

XLI. At no great interval of time the woman whom he last married produced him this Cleome-

<sup>43</sup> *Two wives.*]—"He was the only Lacedæmonian," says Pausanias, "who had two wives at the same time, and had two separate dwellings."—See *Pausanias, Lacon. lib. iii. chap. 3. 211.*—T.

nes, the presumptive heir of his dominions ; about the same period his former wife, who had hitherto been barren, proved with child. Although there was not the smallest doubt of her pregnancy, the relations of the second wife, vexed at the circumstance, industriously circulated a report, that she had not conceived, but intended to impose upon them a supposititious child. Instigated by these insinuations, the ephori distrusted and narrowly observed her ; she was, however, delivered first of Dorieus, then of Leonidas <sup>44</sup>, and lastly of Cleombrotus ; by some it has been affirmed, that Leonidas and Cleombrotus were twins. The second wife, who was the daughter of Prinetades, and grand-daughter of Demarmenus, had never any other child but Cleomenes.

XLII. Of Cleomenes it is reported, that he had not the proper use of his faculties, but was insane ; Dorieus, on the contrary, was greatly distinguished by his accomplishments, and trusted to find his way to the throne by valour and by merit. On the death of Anaxandrides <sup>45</sup>, the Lacedæmonians, agreeably to the custom of their nation, preferred Cleomenes <sup>46</sup>, as eldest, to the sovereignty. This greatly

<sup>44</sup> *Leonidas.*]—This was the Leonidas who died with so much glory at the straits of Thermopylæ.—T.

<sup>45</sup> *Anaxandrides.*]—An apophthegm of this Anaxandrides is left by Plutarch : being asked why they preserved no money in the exchequer ; “ That the keepers of it,” he replied, “ might not be tempted to become knaves.”—T.

<sup>46</sup> *Cleomenes.*]—This Cleomenes, as is reported by Ælian,



greatly disgusted Dorieus, who did not choose to become the dependant of his brother; taking with him, therefore, a number of his countrymen, he left Sparta, and founded a colony: but so impetuous was his resentment, that he neglected to enquire of the Delphic oracle where he should fix his residence; nor did he observe any of the ceremonies <sup>47</sup> usual on such occasions. Under the conduct of some Thereans, he sailed to Africa, and settled on the banks of a river near Cinyps <sup>48</sup>, one of the most

used to say that Homer was the poet of the Lacedæmonians, and Hesiod the poet of the Helots: one taught the art of war, the other of agriculture.—*T.*

<sup>47</sup> *Of the ceremonies.*]—Amongst other ceremonies which they observed, when they went to establish a colony, they took some fire from the Prytaneum of the metropolis; and if in the colony this ever was extinguished, they returned to the metropolis to re-kindle it.—*Larcher.*

<sup>48</sup> *Cinyps.*]—The vicinity of this river abounded in goats, and was celebrated for its fertility.—See Virgil:

Nec minus interea barbas, incanaque menta  
Ciniphii tondent hirci.

It may be proper to observe, that this passage, quoted from Virgil, has been the occasion of much literary controversy.—See Heyne on Georgic. lib. iii. 312.

The fertility of the places adjoining to the Cinyps, is thus mentioned by Ovid:

Ciniphie segetis citius numerabis aristas.

This river is in the district belonging to the modern Tripoli.

The Cinyps fell into the sea, near Leptis, in Proper Africa; Claudian has called it *Vagus*, without much appropriation of his epithet; for its course is short, and not wandering:

Quos

most delightful situations in that part of the world, in the third year of his residence, being expelled by the joint efforts of the Maci, Afri, and Carthaginians, he returned to the Peloponnese.

XLIII. Here Antichares of Elis advised him, in conformity to the oracles of Laius<sup>49</sup>, to found Heraclea in Sicily; affirming, that all the region of Eryx was the property of the Heraclidæ, as having belonged to Hercules<sup>50</sup>: he accordingly went to Delphi to consult the oracle, whether the

Quos Vagus humectat Cinyps, et proximus hortis  
Hesperidum Triton, et Gir notissimus amnis,  
Æthiopum, simili mentitus gurgite Nilum.—

*De Laud. Stil.* 251.—T.

<sup>49</sup> *Oracles of Laius.*]—The Greek is *ἐκ τῶν Λαίῳ χρησμών*:—this M. Larcher has rendered “the oracles declared to Laius.”—T.

<sup>50</sup> *Belonged to Hercules.*]—When Hercules came into the country of Eryx, Eryx the son of Venus, and Bula the king of the country, challenged Hercules to wrestle with him: both sides proposed the wager to be won and lost. Eryx laid to stake his kingdom, but Hercules his oxen: Eryx at first disdained such an unequal wager, not fit to be compared with his country; but when Hercules, on the other side, answered, that if he lost them, he should lose his immortality with them, Eryx was contented with the condition, and engaged in the contest; but he was overcome, and so was stripped of the possession of his country, which Hercules gave to the inhabitants, allowing them to take the fruits to their own use, till some one of his posterity came to demand it, which afterwards happened; for, many ages after, Dorieus the Lacedæmonian, sailing into Sicily, recovered his ancestor’s dominion, and there built Heraclea.—*Booth’s Diodorus Siculus.*



country where he was about to reside would prove a permanent acquisition. The reply of the Pythian being favourable, he embarked in the same vessels which had accompanied him from Africa, and sailed to Italy.

XLIV. At this period, as is reported, the Sybarites, under the conduct of Telys their king, meditated an attack upon the inhabitants of Crotona; apprehensive of which, these latter implored the assistance of Dorieus; he listened to their solicitations, and joining forces, he marched with them against Sybaris<sup>51</sup>, and took it<sup>52</sup>. The Sybarites say,

<sup>51</sup> *Sybaris*,]—was founded by the Achæans, betwixt the rivers Crathis and Sybaris; it soon became a place of great opulence and power; the effeminacy of the people became proverbial: see Plutarch.—“It is reported,” says he, in his Banquet of the Seven Wise Men, “that the Sybarites used to invite their neighbours wives a whole twelvemonth before their entertainments, that they might have convenient time to dress and adorn themselves.”—See also Athenæus, book xii. c. 3. by whom many whimsical things are recorded of the Sybarites. Their attendants at the bath had fetters, that they might not by their careless haste burn those who bathed; all noisy trades were banished from their city, that the sleep of the citizens might not be disturbed; for the same reason, also, they permitted no cocks to be kept in their city. An inhabitant of this place being once at Sparta, was invited to a public entertainment, where, with the other guests, he was seated on a wooden bench: “Till now,” he remarked, “the bravery of the Spartans has excited my admiration; but I no longer wonder that men living so hard a life should be fearless of death.” This place was afterwards called Thurium.—*T.*

<sup>52</sup> *And took it.*]—The cause of the war, according to Diodo-

say, that Dorieus and his companions did this ; but the people of Crotona deny that in their contest with the Sybarites they availed themselves of the assistance of any foreigner, except Callias of Elis, a priest of the family of the Iamidæ<sup>53</sup>. He had fled from Telys, prince of Sybaris, because on some solemn sacrifice he was not able from the entrails of the victim to promise success against Crotona.—The matter is thus differently stated by the two nations.

XLV. The proofs of what they severally assert are these:—The Sybarites shew near the river Crastis, which is sometimes dry, a sacred edifice, built, as they affirm, by Dorieus after the capture of his city, and consecrated to the Crastian<sup>54</sup> Minerva. The death of Dorieus himself is another, and with

rus Siculus, was this; “Telys persuaded the Sybarites to banish five hundred of their most powerful citizens, and to sell their effects by public auction; the exiles retired to Crotona. Telys sent ambassadors to demand the fugitives, or in case of refusal to denounce war; the people were disposed to give them up, but the celebrated Pythagoras persuaded them to engage in their defence: Milo was very active in the contest, and the event was so fatal to the Sybarites, that their town was plundered and reduced to a perfect solitude.—*Larcher*.

<sup>53</sup> *Iamidæ*.]—To Iamus and his descendants, who were after him called Iamidæ, Apollo gave the art of divination.—See the fifth Olympic of Pindar.

<sup>54</sup> *Crastian*.]—The city Crastis, or, as it is otherwise called, Crastus, was celebrated for being the birth-place of the comic poet Epicharmus, and of the courtesan Lais.—*T*.



them the strongest testimony, for he lost his life whilst acting in opposition to the express commands of the oracle. For if he had confined his exertions to what was the avowed object of his expedition, he would have obtained, and effectually secured, the possession of the region of Eryx, and thus have preserved himself and his followers. The inhabitants of Crotona are satisfied with exhibiting certain lands, given to the Elean Callias, in the district of Crotona, which even within my remembrance the descendants of Callias possess: this was not the case with Dorieus, nor any of his posterity. It must be obvious, that if this Dorieus, in the war above mentioned, had assisted the people of Crotona, they would have given more to him than to Callias. To the above different testimonies, every person is at liberty to give what credit he thinks proper.

XLVI. Amongst those who accompanied Dorieus, with a view of founding a colony, were Thesalus, Paræbates, Celees, and Euryleon, all of whom, Euryleon excepted, fell in an engagement with the Phœnicians and Ægistsans, on their happening to touch at Sicily: this man, collecting such as remained of his companions, took possession of Minoas, a Selinusian colony, which he delivered from the oppression of Pythagoras. Euryleon, putting the tyrant to death, assumed his situation and authority. These, however, he did not long enjoy, for the Selinusians rose in a body against him, and  
flew

new him before the altar of Jupiter Forensis<sup>55</sup>, where he had fled for refuge.

XLVII. Philip<sup>56</sup>, a native of Crotona, and son of Butacides, was the companion of Dorieus in his travels and his death: he had entered into engagements of marriage with a daughter of Telys of Sybaris, but not choosing to fulfil them, he left his country, and went to Cyrene; from hence also he departed, in search of Dorieus, in a three-oared vessel of his own, manned with a crew provided at his own expence: he had been victorious in the Olympic games, and was confessedly the handsomest man in Greece. On account of his accomplishments of person<sup>57</sup>, the people of Ægestus distinguished

<sup>55</sup> *Jupiter Forensis.*]—That is to say, in the public forum, where the altar of this god was erected.—*T.*

<sup>56</sup> *Philip.*]—"There seems in this place," says Reiske, "to be something wanted: how did Philip come amongst the Ægestans; or how did he obtain their friendship; or, if he was killed with Dorieus, in Italy, how did he escape in a battle with the Ægestans? These," concludes Reiske, "are difficulties which I am totally unable to reconcile."

<sup>57</sup> *Accomplishments of person.*]—For καλλος in this place, some are for reading κλεος; but Eustathius quotes the circumstance and passage at length, a strong argument for retaining the reading of καλλος:—"Designatur," says Wesseling, "quid fieri solebat Egestæ:" but that it was usual in various places to honour persons for their beauty, is evident from various passages in ancient authors. A beautiful passage from Lucretius, which I have before quoted in this work, sufficiently attests this, —Καθιζων δε η πολλοι της καλλιστες βασιλειας: many nations assign the sovereignty to those amongst them who are the most beautiful,



guished him by very unusual honours; they erected a monument over the place of his interment, where they offered sacrifices as to a divinity.

XLVIII. We have above related the fortunes and death of Dorieus. If he could have submitted to the authority of his brother Cleomenes, and had remained at Lacedæmon, he would have succeeded to the throne of Sparta. Cleomenes, after a very short reign, died, leaving an only child, a daughter, of the name of Gorgo<sup>58</sup>.

XLIX. During the reign of Cleomenes, Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, arrived at Sparta: the Lacedæmonians affirm, that desiring to have a conference with their sovereign, he appeared before him with a tablet of brass in his hand, upon which was inscribed every known part of the habitable world, the seas, and the rivers. He thus addressed the Spartan monarch: "When you know my business, Cleomenes, you will cease to wonder at my zeal in desiring to see you. The Ionians,

tiful, says Athenæus. Beauty, declares Euripides, is worthy of a kingdom—*πρωτον μιν ειδος αξιον τυραννιδος*.—See a very entertaining chapter on this subject in Athenæus, book xiii. c. 2. —*T*.

<sup>58</sup> Gorgo.]—She married Leonidas. When this prince departed for Thermopylæ, Gorgo asked him what commands he had for her; "Marry," says he, "some worthy man, and become the mother of a valiant race."—He himself expected to perish. This princess was remarkable for her virtue, and was one of the women whom Plutarch proposed as a model to Eurydice.—*Larcher*.

“ who ought to be free, are in a state of servitude,  
 “ which is not only disgraceful, but also a source  
 “ of the extremest sorrow to us, as it must also be  
 “ to you, who are so pre-eminent in Greece.—I  
 “ intreat you, therefore, by the gods of Greece,  
 “ to restore the Ionians to liberty, who are con-  
 “ nected with you by ties of consanguinity. The  
 “ accomplishment of this, will not be difficult; the  
 “ Barbarians are by no means remarkable for  
 “ their valour, whilst you, by your military virtue,  
 “ have attained the summit of renown. They rush  
 “ to the combat armed only with a bow and a  
 “ short spear<sup>59</sup>; their robes are long, they suffer their  
 “ hair to grow, and they will afford an easy con-  
 “ quest; add to this, that they who inhabit the  
 “ continent are affluent beyond the rest of their  
 “ neighbours. They have abundance of gold, of  
 “ silver, and of brass; they enjoy a profusion of  
 “ every article of dress, have plenty of cattle, and  
 “ a prodigious number of slaves<sup>60</sup>: all these, if you  
 “ think

<sup>59</sup> *Bow and a short spear.*]—A particular account of the mili-  
 tary habit and arms of the oriental nations, is given in the se-  
 venth book of Herodotus, in which place he minutely describes the  
 various people which composed the prodigious army of Xerxes.  
 It may not be improper to add, that the military habits of the  
 Greeks and Romans very much resembled each other.—T.

<sup>60</sup> *Number of slaves.*]—The first slaves were doubtless cap-  
 tives taken in war, who were employed for menial purposes;  
 from being sought after for use, they finally were purchased and  
 possessed for ostentation. A passage in Athenæus informs us,  
 that he knew many Romans who possessed from ten to twenty  
 thousand slaves. According to Tacitus, four hundred slaves  
 were



“ think proper, may be yours. The nations by  
 “ which they are surrounded I shall explain : next  
 “ to these Ionians are the Lydians, who possess a  
 “ fertile territory, and a profusion of silver.” Say-  
 ing this, he pointed on the tablet in his hand, to the  
 particular district of which he spake. “ Contigu-  
 “ ous to the Lydians,” continued Aristagoras, “ as  
 “ you advance towards the east, are the Phrygians,  
 “ a people who, beyond all the nations of whom I  
 “ have any knowledge, enjoy the greatest abundance  
 “ of cattle, and of the earth’s produce. The  
 “ Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians, join to the  
 “ Phrygians ; then follow the Cilicians, who pos-  
 “ sess the scattered islands of our sea, in the vicinity  
 “ of Cyprus : these people pay annually to the  
 “ king a tribute of five hundred talents. The Ar-  
 “ menians, who have also great plenty of cattle,  
 “ border on the Cilicians. The Armenians have  
 “ for their neighbours the Matieni, who inhabit

were discovered in one great man’s house at Rome, all of whom were executed for not preventing the death of their master. Some nations marked their slaves like cattle ; and in Menjan’s history of Algiers, the author represents a Turk saying scornfully to a Christian, “ What, have you forgot the time when a Christian at Algiers was scarce worth an onion ? ” We learn from Sir John Chardin, that when the Tartars made an incursion into Poland, and carried away as many captives as they could, perceiving they would not be redeemed, they sold them for a crown a head. To enter into any elaborate disquisition on the rights of man, would in this place be impertinent ; and the reader will perceive that I have rather thrown together some detached matters on this interesting subject, perhaps not so generally known.

§

“ the

“ the region contiguous to Cissia : in this latter dis-  
 “ trict, and not far remote from the river Choaspes,  
 “ is Susa, where the Persian monarch occasionally  
 “ resides, and where his treasures are deposited.  
 “ —Make yourselves masters of this city, and you  
 “ may vie in affluence with Jupiter himself. Lay  
 “ aside, therefore, the contest in which you are en-  
 “ gaged with the Messenians, who equal you in  
 “ strength, about a tract of land not very extensive,  
 “ nor remarkably fertile. Neither are the Arca-  
 “ dians, nor the Argives, proper objects of your  
 “ ambition, who are destitute of those precious  
 “ metals<sup>6</sup>, which induce men to brave dangers  
 “ and death : but can any thing be more desira-  
 “ ble, than the opportunity now afforded you, of  
 “ making the entire conquest of Asia?” Aristago-

<sup>6</sup> *Precious metals.*]—I have always been much delighted  
 with the following passage in Lucretius, wherein he informs his  
 readers that formerly brass was sought after and valued, and  
 gold held in no estimation, because useless.

Nam fuit in pretio magis æs, aurumque jacebat  
 Propter inutilitatem hebeti mucrone retusum  
 Nunc jacet æs, aurum in summum successit honorem  
 Sic volvenda ætas commutat tempora rerum  
 Quod fuit in pretio, fit nullo denique honore :  
 Porro aliud succedit et e contemptibus exit  
 Inque dies magis appetitur, floretque repertum  
 Laudibus, et miro 'st mortaleis inter honore.

Again,

Tunc igitur pelles, nunc aurum et purpura curis  
 Exercent hominum vitam belloque fatigant. T.



ras here finished. "Milesian friend," replied Cleomenes, "in the space of three days you shall have our answer."

L. On the day, and at the place appointed, Cleomenes enquired of Aristagoras, how many days journey it was from the Ionian sea to the dominions of the Persian king. Aristagoras, though very sagacious, and thus far successful in his views, was here guilty of an oversight. As his object was to induce the Spartans to make an incursion into Asia, it was his interest to have concealed the truth, but he inconsiderately replied, that it was a journey of about three months. As he proceeded to explain himself, Cleomenes interrupted him; "Stranger of Miletus," said he, "depart from Sparta before sun-set: what you say cannot be agreeable to the Lacedæmonians, desiring to lead us a march of three months from the sea." Having said this, Cleomenes withdrew.

LI. Aristagoras taking a branch of olive <sup>62</sup> in his hand, presented himself before the house of Cleomenes, entering which as a suppliant, he requested  
an

<sup>62</sup> *Branch of olive.*]—It would by no means be an easy task to enumerate the various uses to which the olive was anciently applied, and the different qualities of mind of which it was the symbol. It rewarded the victors at the Olympic games; it was sacred to Minerva, and suspended round her temples; it was the  
emblem

an audience, at the same time desiring that the prince's daughter might retire; for it happened that Gorgo, the only child of Cleomenes, was present, a girl of about eight or nine years old: the king begged that the presence of the child might be no obstruction to what he had to say. Aristagoras then promised to give him ten talents, if he

emblem of peace; it indicated pity, supplication, liberty, hope, &c. &c. The invention of it was imputed to Minerva.

Oleæque Minerva

Inventrix.

Statius calls it *supplicis arbor olivæ*.—Directions for the mode of planting them had place amongst the institutes of Solon: he who pulled up for his own private use more than two olives in the year, paid a fine of one hundred drachmæ. They were not known till a very late period at Rome, but when introduced their fruit became an indispensable article of luxury, and was eaten before and after meals. See Martial:

*Inchoat atque eadem finit oliva dapes.*

It should seem from a passage in Virgil, that the suppliant carried a wreath of olive in his hands:

*Præferimus manibus vittas et verba precantum.*

Of its introduction into the western world, Mr. Gibbon speaks thus: "The olive followed the progress of peace, of which it was considered as the symbol. Two centuries after the foundation of Rome both Italy and Africa were strangers to that useful plant; it was naturalized in those countries, and at length carried into the heart of Spain, and Gaul. The timid errors of the ancients, in supposing that it required a certain degree of heat, and could only flourish in the neighbourhood of the sea, were insensibly exploded by industry and experience."—T.

would



would accede to his request. As Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras rose in his offers to fifty talents; upon which the child exclaimed, "Father, unless you withdraw, this stranger will corrupt you." The prince was delighted with the wise saying of his daughter, and instantly retired. Aristagoras was never able to obtain another audience of the king, and left Sparta in disgust.

LII. In that space of country about which Cleomenes had enquired, the Persian king has various *stathmi*, or mansions, with excellent inns<sup>63</sup>; these are all splendid and beautiful, the whole of the country is richly cultivated, and the roads good and secure. In the regions of Lydia and Phrygia, twenty of the above *stathmi* occur, within the space of ninety *parasangs* and a half. Leaving Phrygia, you meet with the river Halys, where there are gates which are strongly defended, but which must be necessarily passed. Advancing through Cappadocia, to

<sup>63</sup> *Excellent inns.*]—There can be little doubt, but that these are the same with what are now called *caravanseras*, and which abound in all oriental countries; these are large square buildings, in the centre of which is a spacious court. The traveller must not expect to meet with much accommodation in these places, except that he may depend upon finding water: they are esteemed sacred, and a stranger's goods, whilst he remains in one of them, are secure from pillage.

Such exactly are also the *choultries* of Indostan, many of which are buildings of great magnificence, and very curious workmanship. What the traveller has there to expect is little, more than mere shelter.—T.

the confines of Cilicia, in the space of one hundred and four parasangs, there are eight-and-twenty stathmi. At the entrance of Cilicia are two necks of land, both well defended; passing beyond which through the country, are three stathmi in the space of fifteen parasangs and a half: Cilicia, as well as Armenia, are terminated by the Euphrates, which is only passable in vessels. In Armenia, and within the space of fifty-six parasangs and a half, there are fifteen stathmi, in which also are guards: through this country flow the waters of four rivers, the passage of which is indispensable, but can only be effected in boats. Of these the first is the Tigris; by the same name also the second and the third are distinguished, though they are by no means the same, nor proceeding from the same source: of these latter the one rises in Armenia, the other from amongst the Matieni. The fourth river is called the Gyndes, which was formerly divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels. From Armenia to the country of the Matieni, are four stathmi: from hence, through Cissia, as far as the river Choaspes, there are eleven stathmi, and a space of forty-two parasangs and a half. The Choaspes is also to be passed in boats, and beyond this Susa is situated. Thus it appears, that from Sardis to Susa are one hundred and eleven <sup>64</sup> stations, or stathmi.

LIII.

<sup>64</sup> *One hundred and eleven.*]—According to the account given by Herodotus in this chapter.



LIII. If this measurement of the royal road by parasangs, be accurate, and a parasang be supposed equal to thirty stadia, which it really is, from Sardis to the royal residence of Memnon are thirteen thousand five hundred stadia, or four hundred and fifty parasangs: allowing, therefore, one hundred and fifty stadia to each day, the whole distance will be a journey of ninety entire days.

LIV. Aristagoras was, therefore, correct in telling Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, that it was a three months march to the residence of the Persian monarch. For the benefit of those who wish to have more satisfactory information on the subject, it may not be amiss to add the particulars of the distance betwixt Sardis and Ephesus. From the Greek sea to Susa, the name by which the city of Memnon<sup>65</sup> is generally known, is fourteen thousand

	Stathmi.	Parasangs.
In Lydia and Phrygia are	20	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
In Cappadocia	28	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
In Cilicia	3	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
In Armenia	15	56 $\frac{1}{2}$
In the country of the Matieni	4	
In Cissia	11	42 $\frac{1}{2}$

So that here must evidently be some mistake, as instead of 111 stathmi, we have only 81; instead of 450 parasangs, only 313. Wesseling remarks on the passage, that if the numbers were accurate, much advantage might be derived from knowing the exact proportion of distance between a stathmus and a parasang. The same defect is observable in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, which Hutchinson tries in vain to explain.—T.

<sup>65</sup> *Of Memnon.*]—Strabo says that Susa was built by Titron, the

sand and forty stadia: from Ephesus to Sardis is five hundred and forty stadia; thus three days must be added to the computation of the three months.

LV. From Sparta Aristagoras went to Athens, which at this period had recovered its liberty: Aristogiton and Harmodius<sup>66</sup>, who were Gephyreans

the father of Memnon; Herodotus also, in another place, calls Susa the city of Memnon.

<sup>66</sup> *Aristogiton and Harmodius.*]—To the reader of the most common classical taste the story of these Athenians must be too familiar to require any repetition in this place. An extract from a poem of Sir William Jones, in which the incident is happily introduced, being less common, may not perhaps be unacceptable. It is entitled,

*Julii Melesigoni ad Libertatem  
Carmen.*

Virtus renascens quem jubet ad fonos  
Spartanam avitos ducere tibiam?  
Quis fortium cætus in auras  
Athenias juvenum ciebit;

Quos Marti amicos, aut hyacinthinis  
Flava in palæstra conspicuos comis  
Aut alma libertas in undis  
Egelidis agiles videbat,

Plausitque visos? Quis modulabitur  
Excelsa plectro carmina Lesbio,  
Quæ dirus Alcæo sonante  
Audiit, et tremuit dynastes?



reans by descent, had put to death Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and brother of Hippias the tyrant. We are informed that Hipparchus had received intimation in a vision<sup>67</sup> of the disaster which afterwards

Quis myrteâ ensẽm fronde reconditum  
Cantabit? Illum civibus Harmodi  
Dilecte servatis, nec ullo  
Interiture die tenebas:

Vix se refrœnat fulmineus chalybs,  
Mox igne cœlesti emicat, exilit  
Et cor reluctantis tyranni  
Perforat ictibus haud remissis.

O ter placentem Palladi victimam, &c.

The reader will perceive that *Julii Melesigoni* is an anagram of William Jones.

A more particular account of these deliverers of their country may be found in Thucydides, book vi. c. 12. Pausanias, book i. and in Suidas.—*T.*

<sup>67</sup> *In a vision.*]—The ancients imagined that a distinct dream was a certain declaration of the future, or that the event was not to be averted, but by certain expiatory ceremonies. See the *Electra* of Sophocles, and other places.—*Larcher.*

One method which the ancients had of averting the effects of disagreeable visions, was to relate them to the Sun, who they believed had the power of turning aside any evils which the night might have menaced.—*T.*

From Larcher's prolix note on the subject of Aristogiton and Harmodius, I extract such particulars as I think will be most interesting to an English reader.

Harmodius is reported to have inspired the tyrant Hipparchus with an unnatural passion, who loving and being beloved by Aristogiton, communicated the secret to him, and joined with him in his resolution to destroy their persecutor. This is sufficiently

afterwards befel him; though for four years after his death the people of Athens suffered greater oppression than before.

LVI. The particulars of the vision which Hipparchus saw are thus related: in the night preceding the festival of the Panathenæa<sup>68</sup>, Hipparchus beheld

sufficiently contradicted, with respect to the attachment betwixt Harmodius and Aristogiton, which appears to have been the true emotions of friendship only.

The courtesan Leæna, who was beloved by Harmodius, was tortured by Hippias, to make her discover the accomplices in the assassination of Hipparchus. Distrusting her own fortitude, she bit off her tongue. The Athenians, in honour of her memory, erected in the vestibule of the citadel a statue in bronze of a lioness without a tongue.

Thucydides seems willing to impute the action which caused the death of Hipparchus to a less noble motive than the love of liberty; but the contemporaries of the conspirators, and posterity, have rendered Harmodius and Aristogiton the merit which was their due.

Popular songs were made in their honour, one of which is preserved in Athenæus, book xv. chap. 15. It is also to be seen in the *Analecta* of Brunck, i. 155. This song has been imputed to Alcæus, but falsely, for that poet died before Hipparchus.

The descendants of the conspirators who destroyed the tyrant were maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence.

One of the posterity of Harmodius, proud of his birth, reproached Iphicrates with the meanness of his family: "My nobility," answered Iphicrates, "commences with me, yours terminates in you." In the very time of the decline of Athens, the love of liberty was there so hereditary and indelible, that they erected statues to the assassins of Cæsar.

<sup>68</sup> *Panathenæa*.]—On this subject I give, from different writers, the more interesting particulars.



beheld a tall and comely personage, who addressed him in these ambiguous terms :

Brave lion, thy unconquer'd soul compose  
To meet unmov'd intolerable woes :  
In vain th' oppressor would elude his fate,  
The vengeance of the gods is sure, though late.

As soon as the morning appeared, he disclosed what he had seen to the interpreters of dreams. He however slighted the vision, and was killed in the celebration of some public festival.

LVII. The Gephyreans, of which nation were the assassins of Hipparchus, came, as themselves affirm, originally from Eretria. But the result of my enquiries enables me to say that they were Phœnicians, and of those who accompanied Cadmus into the region now called Bœotia, where they settled, having the district of Tanagria assigned them by lot. The Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives; the Bœotians afterwards drove out the Gephyreans, who took refuge at Athens. The Athenians en-

The festival was in honour of Minerva. There were the greater and lesser Panathenæa. The lesser originated with Theseus; these were celebrated every year in the month Hecatombæon; the greater were celebrated every five years. In the procession on this occasion old men, selected for their good persons, carried branches of olive. There were also races with torches both on horse and foot; there was also a musical contention. The conqueror in any of these games was rewarded with a vessel of oil. There was also a dance by boys in armour. The vest of Minerva was carried in a sacred procession of persons of all ages, &c. &c.—7.

rolled them amongst their citizens, under certain restrictions of trifling importance.

LVIII. The Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, and of whom the Gephyreans were a part, introduced during their residence in Greece various articles of science; and amongst other things letters <sup>69</sup>, with which, as I conceive, the Greeks were before

<sup>69</sup> *Amongst other things letters.*]—Upon the subject of the invention of letters, it is necessary to say something; but so much has been written by others, that the task of selection, though all that is necessary, becomes sufficiently difficult.

The first introduction of letters into Greece has been generally assigned to Cadmus; but this has often been controverted, no arguments on either side have been adduced sufficiently strong to be admitted as decisive. It is probable that they were in use in Greece before Cadmus, which Diodorus Siculus confidently affirms. But Lucan, in a very enlightened period of the Roman empire, without any more intimation of doubt, than is implied in the words *famæ si creditur*, wrote thus:

Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi  
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris  
Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos  
Noverat, et saxis tantum, volucresque feræque  
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.

Phœnicians first, if ancient fame be true,  
The sacred mystery of letters knew;  
They first by sound, in various lines design'd,  
Express'd the meaning of the thinking mind,  
The power of words by figures rude convey'd,  
And useful science everlasting made.  
Then Memphis, ere the reedy leaf was known,  
Engrav'd her precepts and her arts in stone;  
While animals, in various order plac'd,  
The learned hieroglyphic column grac'd.

Rowe.



before unacquainted. These were at first such as the Phœnicians themselves indiscriminately use ; in process of time, however, they were changed both in sound and form<sup>70</sup>. At that time the Greeks

To this opinion, concerning the use of hieroglyphics, bishop Warburton accedes, in his *Divine Legation of Moses*, who thinks that they were the production of an unimproved state of society, as yet unacquainted with alphabetical writing. With respect to this opinion of Herodotus, many learned men thought it worthy of credit, from the resemblance betwixt the old Eastern and earliest Greek characters, which is certainly an argument of some weight.

No European nation ever pretended to the honour of this discovery ; the Romans confessed they had it from the Greeks, the Greeks from the Phœnicians.

Pliny says the use of letters was eternal ; and many have made no scruple of ascribing them to a divine revelation. Our countryman Mr. Atle, who has written perhaps the best on this complicated subject, has this expression, with which I shall conclude the subject.

“ The vanity of each nation induces them to pretend to the most early civilization ; but such is the uncertainty of ancient history, that it is difficult to determine to whom the honour is due. It should seem, however, that the contest may be confined to the Ægyptians, Phœnicians, and Cadmeans.”—*T*.

<sup>70</sup> *In sound and form.*]—The remark of Dr. Gillies on this passage seems worthy of attention,

“ The eastern tongues are in general extremely deficient in vowels. It is, or rather was, much disputed whether the ancient orientals used any characters to express them : their languages therefore had an inflexible thickness of sound, extremely different from the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels but in diphthongs. This circumstance denotes in the Greeks organs of perception more acute, elegant, and discerning. They felt such faint variations of liquid sounds as escaped the dulness of Asiatic ears, and invented marks to express them. They distinguished in this manner not only their articulation, but their quantity, and afterwards their musical intonation.”

most

most contiguous to this people were the Ionians, who learned these letters of the Phœnicians, and, with some trifling variations, received them into common use. As the Phœnicians first made them known in Greece, they called them, as justice required, Phœnician letters. By a very ancient custom, the Ionians call their books *diphteræ* or skins, because at a time when the plant of the biblos was scarce <sup>71</sup>, they used instead of it the skins of goats and sheep. Many of the barbarians have used these skins for this purpose within my recollection,

LIX. I myself have seen, in the temple of the Iſmenian Apollo, at Thebes of Bœotia, these Cadmean letters inscribed upon some tripods, and having a near resemblance to those used by the Ionians. One of the tripods has this inscription <sup>72</sup> :  
Amphytrion's

<sup>71</sup> *Biblos was scarce.*]—Je ne parlerai point ici de toutes les matieres sur lesquelles on a tracé l'écriture. Les peaux de chevre et de mouton, les differens especes de toile furent successivement employées : on a fait depuis usage du papier tissé des couches interieures de la tige d'une plante qui croit dans les marais de l'Egypte, ou au milieu des eaux dormantes que le Nil laisse apres son inondation. On en fait des rouleaux, a l'extremité, desquels est suspendre une etiquette contenant le titre du livre. L'écriture n'est tracée que sur une des faces de chaque rouleau ; et pour en faciliter la lecture, elle s'y trouve divisée en plusieurs compartimens ou pages, &c.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

Every thing necessary to be known on the subject of paper, its first invention, and progressive improvement, is satisfactorily discussed in the edition of Chambers's Dictionary by Rees.—*T.*

<sup>72</sup> *This inscription.*]—Some curious inscriptions upon the shields of the warriors who were engaged in the siege of the capital



Amphytrion's present from Teleboan spoils.

This must have been about the age of Laius, son of Labdacus, whose father was Polydore, the son of Cadmus.

LX. Upon the second tripod, are these hexameter verses :—

Scæus, victorious pugilist, bestow'd  
Me, a fair offering, on the Delphic god.

This Scæus was the son of Hippocoon, if indeed it was he who dedicated the tripod, and not another person of the same name, cotemporary with Œdipus the son of Laius.

LXI. The third tripod bears this inscription in hexameters :—

Royal Laodamas to Phœbus' shrine  
This tripod gave, of workmanship divine.

Under this Laodamas, the son of Eteocles, who had the supreme power, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives, and fled to the Encheleans<sup>73</sup>. The Gephyræans were compelled by the Bœotians to retire to Athens<sup>74</sup>. Here they built

capital of Eteocles, are preserved in the "Seven against Thebes of Æschylus," to which the reader is referred.

<sup>73</sup> *Encheleans*.]—The Cadmeans and Encheleans of Herodotus are the Thebans and Illyrians of Pausanias.

<sup>74</sup> *To Athens*.]—They were permitted to settle on the borders of the Cephissus, which separates Attica from Eleusis; there they built a bridge, in order to have a free communication on both sides. I am of opinion that bridges, γέφυραι, took their  
name

built temples for their own particular use, resembling in no respect those of the Athenians, as may be seen in the edifice and mysteries of the Achæan Ceres.

LXII. Thus have I related the vision of Hipparchus, and the origin of the Gephyreans, from whom the conspirators against Hipparchus were descended: but it will here be proper to explain more at length the particular means by which the Athenians recovered their liberty, which I was beginning to do before. Hippias had succeeded to the supreme authority, and, as appeared by his conduct, greatly resented the death of Hipparchus. The Alcæonidæ, who were of Athenian origin, had been driven from their country by the Pisistratidæ: they had, in conjunction with some other exiles, made an effort to recover their former situations, and to deliver their country from its oppressors, but were defeated with considerable loss. They retired to Lipsydrium beyond Pæonia, which they fortified, still meditating vengeance against the Pisistratidæ. Whilst they were thus circumstanced, the Amphictyons<sup>75</sup> engaged them upon certain terms  
to

name from these people. The author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* pretends that the people were called Gephyreans from this bridge; but it is very certain that they bore this name before they settled in Attica.—*Larcher*.

<sup>75</sup> *Amphictyons*.]—The Amphictyons were an assembly composed of deputies from the different states of Greece. Each state sent two deputies, one to examine into what related to the ceremonies of religion, the other to decide disputes betwixt individuals.



to construct that which is now the temple of Delphi<sup>76</sup>, but which did not exist before. They were not deficient in point of wealth; and, warmed with the generous spirit of their race, they erected a temple far exceeding the model which had been given, in splendour and in beauty. Their agreement only obliged them to construct it of the stone of Porus<sup>77</sup>, but they built the vestibule of Parian marble.

LXIII. These men, as the Athenians relate, during their continuance at Delphi bribed the Py-

individuals. Their general residence was at Delphi, and they determined disputes betwixt the different states of Greece. Before they proceeded to business, they sacrificed an ox cut into small pieces; their decisions were sacred, and without appeal. They met twice in the year, in spring and in autumn. In spring at Delphi, in autumn at Thermopylæ.

This council represented but a certain number of the states of Greece; but these were the principal and most powerful. Demosthenes makes mention of a decree where the Amphictyonic council is called *το κοινον των Ελληνων συνεδριον*; and Cicero also calls them commune Græciæ concilium.—7.

<sup>76</sup> *Temple of Delphi.*]—The temple of Delphi was in its origin no more than a chapel made of the branches of laurel growing near the temple. One Pteræas of Delphi afterwards built it of more solid materials: it was then constructed of brass; the fourth time it was erected of stone.—*Larcher.*

<sup>77</sup> *Stone of Porus.*]—This stone resembled the Parian marble in whiteness and hardness; but, according to Pliny and Theophrastus, it was less ponderous. Of the marble of Paros I have spoken elsewhere. Larcher remarks that Phidias, Praxiteles, and the more eminent sculptors of antiquity, always preferred it for their works. Tournefort without hesitation prefers the marbles of Italy to those of Greece.

thian to propose to every Spartan who should consult her, in a private or public capacity, the deliverance of Athens. The Lacedæmonians, hearing incessantly the same thing repeated to them, sent an army under the conduct of Anchimolius, son of Aster, a man of a very popular character, to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens. They in this respect violated some very ancient ties of hospitality; but they thought it better became them to listen to the commands of Heaven, than to any human consideration. These forces were dispatched by sea, and being driven to Phalerus, were there disembarked by Anchimolius. The Pisistratidæ being aware of this, applied for assistance to the Thessalians, with whom they were in alliance. The people of Thessaly obeyed the summons, and sent them a thousand horse<sup>78</sup>, commanded by Cineas their king;

<sup>78</sup> *Thousand horse.*]—The cavalry of Thessaly were very famous.—See *Theocritus*; *Id.* xviii. 30.

Ἡ κατὰ κυπαρισσός, ἡ ἀρματὶ Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος  
Ὡδὲ καὶ ῥοδοκρῶς Ἑλένα Λακεδαιμονίῳ κοσμος.

As the cypress is an ornament to a garden, as a Thessalian horse to a chariot, so is the lovely Helen the glory of Lacedæmon.—*Larcher*.

Amongst other solemnities of mourning which Admetus prince of Thessaly orders to be observed in honour of his deceased wife, he bids his subjects cut the manes of all the chariot horses:

Τεθρίππα τε ζευγυσθε καὶ μοναμπυκάς  
Πῶλὺς σιδήρῳ τέμνεται αὐχένων φοβήν.

From which incident it may perhaps be inferred, that the Thessalians held their horses in no small estimation: the speech of Admetus being as much as to say, “All that belongs to me.  
all



king, a native of Coniæus: on the arrival of their allies, the Pisistratidæ levelled all the country about Phalerus, and thus enabling the cavalry to act, they sent them against the Spartans. They accordingly attacked the enemy, and killed several, amongst whom was Anchimolius. Those who escaped were driven to their vessels. Thus succeeded the first attempt of the Lacedæmonians: the tomb of Anchimolius is still to be seen near the temple of Hercules, in Cynosarges<sup>79</sup>, in the district of Alopece<sup>80</sup>, in Attica.

#### LXIV.

all that have any share of my regard, shall aid me in deploring my domestic loss."—See vol. i. 215.—*T*.

<sup>79</sup> *Cynosarges*.]—This place gave name to the sect of the Cynics. It was a gymnasium, or place for public exercises, annexed to a temple, and situated near one of the gates of Athens. The origin of its appellation *Cynosarges* is thus related: an Athenian named Didymus was performing a sacrifice in his house, but was interrupted by a large white dog, which coming in unexpectedly, seized the victim, carried it off, and left it in another place. Much disturbed by an accident so inauspicious, Didymus consulted the oracle in what manner he might avert the omen; he was told to build a temple to Hercules in the place where the dog had deposited the victim: he did so, and called it *Cynosarges*, ἀπο τοῦ κυνὸς ἀργυ, from the *white dog*, which that name expresses. When Antisthenes founded his sect, he hired this place as conveniently situated for his lectures; and from the name of the place, added to the consideration of the snarling doggish nature of those philosophers, was derived the appellation *Cynic*, which means *doggish*. Antisthenes himself was sometimes called ἀπλοκυνων, *mere or genuine dog*. The expression *ad Cynosarges* was proverbial.—See this explained at length in the *Adagia* of Erasmus; it signified the same as *abi ad cervos, ad malam rem, &c.*—*T*.

<sup>80</sup> *Alopece*.]—This place was appropriated to the tribe of  
Antiochis,

LXIV. The Lacedæmonians afterwards sent a greater body of forces against Athens, not by sea but by land, under the direction of their king Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides. These, on their first entrance into Attica, were attacked by the Thessalian horse, who were presently routed<sup>81</sup>, with the loss of forty of their men: the remainder retired without any further efforts into Thessaly. Cleomenes advancing to the city, was joined by those Athenians who desired to be free; in conjunction with whom he besieged the tyrants in the Pelasgian citadel.

LXV. The Lacedæmonians would have found themselves finally inadequate to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, for they were totally unprepared for a siege, whilst their adversaries were well provided with necessaries. After therefore continuing the blockade for a few days, they were about to return to Sparta, when an accident happened, as fatal to one party as favourable to the other. The children of the Pisistratidæ in their attempts privately to escape, were taken prisoners: this incident reduced them to extreme perplexity, so that finally, to recover their children, they submitted to such terms

Antiochis, and according to Diogènes Laërtius, was celebrated for being the birth-place of Socrates.—*T.*

<sup>81</sup> *Presently routed.*]—Frontinus, in his *Stratagemata*, relates that Cleomenes obstructed the passage of the Thessalian horse, by throwing branches of trees over the plain. This delivery of the Athenians by Cleomenes, is alluded to by Aristophanes, in his play called *Lyssistratus*.—*Larcher.*



as the Athenians imposed, and engaged to leave Attica within five days. Thus, after enjoying the supreme authority for thirty-six years, they retired to Sigeum beyond the Scamander. They were in their descent Pylians, of the family of Peleus; they were by birth related to Codrus and Melanthus, who had also arrived at the principality of Athens, though strangers like themselves. In memory of which Hippocrates, the father of Pisistratus, had named his son from the son of Nestor. The Athenians were thus delivered from oppression; and it will now be my business to commemorate such prosperous or calamitous events as they experienced after they had thus recovered their liberties, before Ionia had revolted from Darius, and Aristagoras the Milesian had arrived at Athens to supplicate assistance.

LXVI. Athens was considerable before, but, its liberty being restored, it became greater than ever. Of its citizens, two enjoyed more than common reputation: Clisthenes, of the family of the Alcmaeonidæ, who according to the voice of fame had corrupted the Pythian; and Isagoras, son of Tisander, who was certainly of an illustrious origin, but whose particular descent I am not able to specify. The individuals of this family sacrifice to the Carian Jupiter<sup>82</sup>: these two men, in their contention for superiority,

<sup>82</sup> *Carian Jupiter.*]—The Carians were exceedingly condemned, and they were regarded as slaves, because they were the

riority, divided the state into factions: Clifthenes, who was worsted by his rival, found means to conciliate the favour of the people. The four tribes<sup>83</sup>, which were before named from the sons of Ion, Geleon, Ægicóres, Argades, and Hóples, he divided into ten, naming them according to his fancy, from

the first who let out troops for hire; for which reason they were exposed to the most perilous enterprizes. This people had a temple common to themselves, with the Lydians and Mysians; this was called the temple of the Carian Jupiter. They who sacrificed to the Carian Jupiter acknowledged themselves to have been originally from Caria. Plutarch does not omit this opportunity of reproaching Herodotus; and indeed this is amongst the very few instances of his having justice on his side. As early as in the time of Homer, the following proverb was current:

—— τιω δὲ μιν ἐν Κάρῳ αἰσῇ,

I value him no more than a Carian.

*Larcher.*

This interpretation has, however, been justly considered as doubtful. See Dr. Clarke's excellent note on that passage. *Il.* ix. 378.—*T.*

<sup>83</sup> *The four tribes.*]—The names of the four ancient tribes of Athens varied at different times: they were afterwards, as in this place represented, multiplied into ten; two others were then added. Each of these ten tribes, like so many different republics, had their presidents, officers of police, tribunals, assemblies, and different interests. Fifty senators were elected as representatives of each tribe, which of course made the aggregate representation of the state of Athens amount to five hundred. The motive of Clifthenes in dividing the Athenians into ten tribes, was a remarkable instance of political sagacity; till then any one tribe uniting with a second must have rendered any contest equal. The names here inserted have been the subject of much learned controversy. See the *Ion* of Euripides, ver. 1576, and the commentators upon it. An inscription published by Count Caylus has at length removed many of the difficulties.—*T.*



the heroes of his country. One however he called after Ajax<sup>84</sup>, who had been the neighbour and ally to his nation.

LXVII. In this particular, Clisthenes seems to me to have imitated his grandfather of the same name by his mother's side, who was prince of Sicyon: this Clisthenes having been engaged in hostilities with the Argives, abolished at Sicyon the poetical contests of the rhapsodists<sup>85</sup>, which he  
was

<sup>84</sup> *Ajax.*]—Ajax, son of Telamon, had been prince of Ægina, an island in the neighbourhood of Attica.—*Larcher.* This is a most remarkable mistake in Larcher: Ajax was of Salamis, not of Ægina. See the well-known line in Homer:

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀγὺν δυοκαίδεκα νηας.

<sup>85</sup> *Rhapsodists.*]—This word is compounded either of *ραπτω*, to sew, or *ραβδος*, a rod or branch, and *ᾠδή*, a song or poem. According to the first derivation it signifies a poet, author of various songs or poems which are connected together, making one poem, of which the different parts may be detached and separately recited. According to the second, it signifies a singer, who holding in his hand a branch of laurel, recites either his own compositions or those of some celebrated poet.

Hesiod inclines to the former etymology. Homer, Hesiod, &c. were rhapsodists in this sense; they composed their poems in different books and parts, which uniting together made one perfect composition. The ancient poets went from country to country, and from town to town, to instruct and amuse the people by the recital of their verses, who in return treated them with great honours and much liberality. The most ancient rhapsodist on record is Phemius, whom Homer, after being his disciple, immortalizes in his *Odyssey*. The most probable opinion is, that in singing the verses which they themselves composed, they carried in their hand a branch of laurel. The rhapsodists of the second kind were invited to feasts and public sacrifices, to sing the poems of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, Ar-  
chilochus,

was induced to do, because in the verses of Homer, which were there generally selected for this purpose, Argos and its inhabitants were such frequent objects of praise. From the same motive he was solicitous to expel the relics of Adrastus, an Argive, the son of Talaus, which were deposited in the forum of Sicyon<sup>86</sup>; he went therefore to enquire of the Delphic oracle, whether he might expel Adrastus. The Pythian said in reply, that Adrastus was a prince of Sicyon, whilst he himself was a robber. Meeting with this repulse from the oracle, he on his

chilochus, Mimnermus, Phocylides, and in particular of Homer. These were satisfied with reciting the compositions of others, and certainly carried a branch of laurel, which particularly has been disputed with respect to the first.

They were also called Homerides or Homerists, because they generally recited verses from Homer.

They sung sitting on a raised chair, accompanying their verses with a cithera or some other instrument, and in return a crown of gold was given them. In process of time the words rhapsodist and rhapsody became terms of contempt, from the abuse which the rhapsodists made of their profession; and at the present day the term rhapsody is applied to a number of vile pieces ill put together.—*Larcher*.

The note above given from Larcher will necessarily bring to the mind of the English reader the character and office of our ancient bards, whom the rhapsodists of old in many respects resembled. Of the two, the bards were perhaps the more honourable, as they confined themselves to the recital of the valorous actions of heroes, and of such sentiments as inspired bravery and virtue. In our language also, rhapsody is now always used in a bad sense; but it was not so with our more ancient writers, and our poets in particular.—*T*.

<sup>86</sup> *Forum of Sicyon.*]—Dieutyichidas relates that Adrastus was buried at Megara, and that at Sicyon there was only a cenotaph of this hero. See Scholiast to Pindar. ad Nem. 30.—*Larcher*.



return concerted other means to rid himself of Adrastus. Thinking he had accomplished this, he sent to Thebes of Bœotia to bring back Melanippus<sup>87</sup>, a native of Sicyon, and son of Astacus. By the consent of the Thébans, his request was granted; he then erected to his honour a shrine in the Prytaneum, and deposited his remains in a place strongly fortified. His motive for thus bringing back Melanippus, which ought not to be omitted, was the great enmity which subsisted betwixt him and Adrastus, and farther, because Melanippus had been accessary to the deaths of Mecistes the brother, and Tydeus the son-in-law of Adrastus. When the shrine was completed, Clisthenes assigned to Melanippus the sacrifices and festivals which before had been appropriated to Adrastus, and solemnized by the Sicyonians with the greatest pomp and magnificence. This district had formerly been under the sovereignty of Polybus, who dying without children, had left his dominions to Adrastus, his grandson by a daughter. Amongst other marks of honour which the Sicyonians paid the memory of Adrastus, they commemorated in tragic choruses<sup>88</sup> his

<sup>87</sup> *Melanippus.*]—When the Argives attacked Thebes, this warrior slew Tydeus and Mecistus, the brother of Adrastus, whilst he himself perished by the hands of Amphiarus.

<sup>88</sup> *Tragic choruses.*]—It may be inferred, says Larcher, from this passage, that Thespis was not the inventor of tragedy; and he quotes Themistius as saying, “The Sicyonians were the inventors of tragedy, but the Athenians brought it to perfection.”

Suidas also, at the word Θισπις, says, that Epigenes of Sicyon was the first tragedian, and Thespis only the sixteenth. M.

Larcher

his personal misfortunes, to the neglect even of Bacchus. But Clifthenes appropriated the choruses to Bacchus, and the other solemnities to Melanippus.

LXVIII. He changed also the names of the Doric tribes, that those of the Sicyonians might be altogether different from those of the Argives, by which means he made the Sicyonians extremely ridiculous. He distinguished the other tribes by

Larcher is of a contrary opinion, but avoids any discussion of the argument, as beyond the proposed limits of his plan.

To exhibit a chorus, was to purchase a dramatic piece of an author, and defray the expence of its representation. This at Athens was the office of the archon, at Rome of the ædiles. The following passage from Lysias may serve to explain the ancient chorus with regard to its variety and expence.

“ When Theopompus was archon, I was furnisher to a tragic chorus, and I laid out 30 minæ—afterwards I got the victory with the chorus of men, and it cost me 20 minæ. When Glauippus was archon, I laid out eight minæ upon the pyrrichists; when Diocles was archon, I laid out upon the cyclian chorus three minæ; afterwards, when Alexias was archon, I furnished a chorus of boys, and it cost me fifteen minæ; and when Euclides was archon, I was at the charge of sixteen minæ on the comedians, and of seven upon the young pyrrichists.”

From which it appears that the tragic was the most expensive chorus, and its splendour in after-times became so extravagant, that Horace complains the spectators minded more what they saw than what they heard:

Dixit adhuc aliquid, nil sane, quid placet ergo  
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

The business of the chorus at its first institution was to sing dithyrambic verses in honour of Bacchus. How it afterwards became improved and extended, has been too often and too well discussed to require any elaborate discussion in this place.—T,



the words *Hys* and *Onos*<sup>89</sup>, superadding only their respective terminations: to his own tribe he prefixed the word *Arche*, expressive of authority; those of his own tribe were therefore termed *Archelaens*; of the others, some were called *Hyatæ*, some *Oneatæ*, others *Chæræatæ*. The Sicyonians were known by these appellations during the time of *Clisthenes*, and for sixty years afterwards. After this period, in consequence of a consultation held amongst themselves, they changed these names to *Hylleans*, *Pamphylians*, and *Dymanatæ*. To these they added a fourth tribe, which in honour of *Ægialeus*, son of *Adrastus*, they called *Ægialeans*.

LXIX. Such was the conduct of *Clisthenes* of Sicyon. The *Clisthenes* of Athens, grandson of the former by a daughter, and named after him, was, as it appears to me, desirous of imitating him from whom he was called. To shew his contempt of the Ionians, he would not suffer the tribes of Athens to bear any resemblance to those of Ionia. Having conciliated his countrymen, who had before been averse to him, he changed the names of the tribes, and increased their number. Instead of four *phylarchi* he made ten, into which number of tribes he also divided the people; by which means he so conciliated their favour, that he obtained a decided superiority over his opponents<sup>90</sup>.

LXX,

<sup>89</sup> *Hys and Onos.*]—Literally, a swine and an ass.

<sup>90</sup> *Over his opponents.*]—*Clisthenes* and *Isagoras* had no intention of becoming tyrants, and were united to expel the *Pisistratidæ* from Athens: but they were not at all the more harmonious on this account. The first desired to establish a democracy,

LXX. Isagoras, though overcome, endeavoured to recover his importance; he accordingly applied to Cleomenes the Spartan, with whom he had formed the tie of hospitality whilst he was besieging the Pisistratidæ, and who has been suspected of an improper connection with Isagoras's wife. The Lacedæmonian prince, sending a herald before him, pronounced sentence of expulsion against Clisthenes, and many other Athenians, on pretence of their being polluted by sacrilegious murder. Isagoras prevailed upon him to make this his excuse, because the Alcæonidæ, with those of their party, had been guilty of a murder, in which neither Isagoras nor any of his followers were concerned.

LXXI. The reason why these Athenians were called polluted<sup>91</sup>, was this: Cylon, a native of Athens, who had obtained the prize in the Olympic games, had been convicted of designs upon the government, for, having procured a number of young men of the same age with himself, he endeavoured to seize the citadel; disappointed in his hopes, he with his companions placed themselves

cracy, and to accomplish it he gave the people more authority than they ever possessed before, by distributing them into a greater number of tribes, making them by these means less easy to be gained. Isagoras, on the contrary, wished to establish an aristocracy; and as he could not possibly succeed in his views, unless by force, he therefore invited the Lacedæmonians to assist him.—*Larcher*.

<sup>91</sup> *Polluted*.]—Literally *Enagees*, that is, polluted by their crime, and therefore devoted to the curse of the goddess whom they had offended: the term implies a sacrilegious offence.—*T*.



before the shrine of Minerva, as suppliants. The Prytanes of the Naucrari<sup>92</sup>, who then governed Athens, persuaded them to leave this sanctuary, under a promise that their lives should not be forfeited. Their being soon afterwards put to death<sup>93</sup>

was

<sup>92</sup> *The Prytanes of the Naucrari.*]—I shall endeavour, as concisely as possible, to make this intelligible to the English reader.

The magistrates of Athens were composed of the Archons, the Areopagites, and the senate of five hundred. When the people of Athens consisted only of four tribes, one hundred were elected by lot from each tribe; when afterwards they were divided into ten, fifty were chosen from each tribe; these were the Prytanes, and they governed the city by turns. Each body of fifty, according to Solon's establishment, ruled for the space of thirty-five days, not all at once, but in regular divisions of their body for a certain limited time. To expatiate on the subject of the Prytanes, the particulars of their duty, and their various subdivisions into other responsible magistracies, would require a long dissertation.

Of the Naucrari, or, as it is sometimes written, Naucleri, what follows may perhaps be sufficient.

To the ten tribes of Clisthenes, two more were afterwards added; these twelve were divided into *Δημοί*, or boroughs, who anciently were named Naucrariæ: of these the magistrates were called Naucrari; each Naucraria furnished for the public service two horsemen and one vessel. Each Athenian borough had anciently its own little senate; thus the Prytanes of the Naucrari were a select number, presiding in each of these senates. With respect to the passage before us, "Many," says Larcher, "are of opinion that Herodotus uses the expression of Prytanes of the Naucrari in a particular sense, meaning by Naucrari the Athenians in general; and by Prytanes, the Archons.—T.

<sup>93</sup> *Put to death.*]—The particulars of this strange business are related at length by Thucydides; much also concerning it may be found in the *Sera numinis vindicta* of Plutarch, and in the

was generally imputed to the Alcæonidæ.—These events happened before the time of Pisistratus.

LXXII. Cleomenes having thus ordered the expulsion of Clisthenes, and the other *Enagees*, though Clisthenes had privately retired<sup>94</sup>, came soon afterwards to Athens with a small number of attendants. His first step was, to send into exile as polluted seven hundred Athenian families<sup>95</sup>, which Isagoras pointed out to him. He next proceeded to dissolve the senate, and to entrust the offices of government with three hundred of the faction of Isagoras. The senate exerted themselves, and positively refused to acquiesce in his projects; upon which Cleomenes, with Isagoras and his party,

the Life of Solon. The detail in this place would not be interesting; the event happened 612 years before the Christian æra.—T.

<sup>94</sup> *Voluntarily retired.*]—We are told by Ælian, that Clisthenes, having introduced the law of the ostracism, was the first who was punished by it. Few English readers will require to be informed, that the ostracism was the Athenian sentence of banishment, determined by the people writing the name of the person to be banished on an oyster-shell.

The punishment itself was not always deemed dishonourable, for the victim, during the term of his banishment, which was ten years, enjoyed his estate. A person could not be banished by the ostracism, unless an assembly of six thousand were present.—T.

<sup>95</sup> *Athenian families.*]—This expression is not so unimportant as it may appear to a careless reader. There were at Athens many domesticated strangers, who enjoyed all the rights of citizens, except that they could not be advanced to a station of any authority in the state.—Larcher.

seized



seized the citadel: they were here, for the space of two days, besieged by the Athenians in a body, who took the part of the senate. Upon the third day certain terms were offered, and accepted, and the Spartans all of them departed from Athens: thus was an omen which had happened to Cleomenes accomplished. For when he was employed in the seizure of the citadel, he desired to enter the adytum and consult the goddess; the priestess, as he was about to open the doors, rose from her seat, and forbade him in these terms: "Lacedæmonian, return, presume not to enter here, where no admittance is permitted to a Dorian." "I," returned Cleomenes, "am not a Dorian, but an Achean." This omen, however, had no influence upon his conduct; he persevered in what he had undertaken, and with his Lacedæmonians was a second time<sup>96</sup> foiled. The Athenians who had joined themselves to him were put in irons, and condemned to die; amongst these was Timestheus of Delphi, concerning whose gallantry and spirit I am able to produce many testimonies.—These Athenians were put to death in prison,

LXXIII. The Athenians having recalled Clifthenes, and the seven hundred families expelled by

<sup>96</sup> *Second time.*]—See chapter lxiv. and lxv.—See also the *Lysistratus* of Aristophanes, verse 273.

"Non memini," says Reiske, "de primo Cleomenis irritato conatu Athenas occupandi in superioribus legere. Nam quod, p. 308, narravit non Cleomeni, sed Anchimolio id evenit."

Cleomenes,

Cleomenes, sent ambassadors to Sardis, to form an alliance with the Persians; for they were well convinced that they should have to support a war against Cleomenes and Sparta. On their arrival at Sardis, and explaining the nature of their commission, Artaphernes, son of Hyftaspes, and chief magistrate of Sardis, enquired of them who they were, and where they lived, desiring to become the allies of Persia. Being satisfied in this particular, he made them this abrupt proposition: if the Athenians would send to Darius earth and water, he would form an alliance with them, if not, they were immediately to depart. After deliberating on the subject, they acceded to the terms proposed, for which, on their return to Athens, they were severely reprehended.

LXXIV. Cleomenes knowing that he was reproached, and feeling that he was injured by the Athenians, levied forces in the different parts of the Peloponnese, without giving any intimation of the object he had in view. He proposed, however, to take vengeance on Athens, and to place the government in the hands of Isagoras, who with him had been driven from the citadel: with a great body of forces he himself took possession of Eleusis, whilst the Bœotians, as had been agreed upon, seized Oenoë and Hyfias<sup>97</sup>, towns in the extremity

<sup>97</sup> *Hyfias.*]—Larcher thinks that Hyfias never constituted a part of Attica, and therefore, with Wesseling, wishes to read Phyle.—See Wesseling's note.



of Attica: on another side the Chalcidians laid waste the Athenian territories. The Athenians, however, perplexed by these different attacks, deferred their revenge on the Bœotians and Chalcidians, and marched with their army against the Peloponnesians at Eleusis.

LXXV. Whilst the two armies were prepared to engage, the Corinthians first of all, as if conscious of their having acted an unjustifiable part, turned their backs and retired. Their example was followed by Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was also a king of Sparta, had conducted a body of forces from Lacedæmon, and till now had seconded Cleomenes in all his measures. On account of this dissension between their princes, the Spartans passed a law, forbidding both their kings to march with the army at the same time. They determined also, that one of the Tyndaridæ<sup>98</sup> should remain with the prince who was left at home, both of whom, till now, had accompanied them on foreign expeditions. The rest of the confederates at Eleusis, perceiving this disunion of the princes, and the secession of the Corinthians, returned to their respective homes.

<sup>98</sup> *One of the Tyndaridæ.*]—It may perhaps be inferred from this passage, that the symbol or image representing Castor and Pollux, which before was one piece of wood, was separated into two distinct emblems. See Abbé Winckelman:—"Chez les Lacedæmoniens Castor et Pollux avoient la forme de deux morceaux de bois paralleles, joints par deux baguettes de traverse; et cette ancienne figure s'est conservée jusqu'à nous par le signe II, qui denote ces frères gemenx du zodiaque.—7.

LXXVI. This was the fourth time that the Dorians had entered Attica, twice as enemies, and twice with pacific and friendly views. Their first expedition was to establish a colony at Megara, which was when Codrus<sup>99</sup> reigned at Athens. They came from Sparta the second and third time to expel the Pisistratidæ. The fourth time was when Cleomenes and the Peloponnesians attacked Eleusis.

LXXVII. The Athenians, observing the adversary's army thus ignominiously diminish, gave place to the desire of revenge, and determined first to attack the Chalcidians, to assist whom the Bœotians advanced as far as the Euripus<sup>100</sup>. On sight of them the Athenians resolved to attack them before

<sup>99</sup> *Codrus.*]—Of this Codrus the following story is related:—The Dorians of the Peloponnese, as here mentioned, marched against the Athenians, and were promised success from the oracle of Delphi, provided they did not kill Codrus the Athenian prince. Cleomantis of Delphi gave intimation of this to the Athenians; upon which Codrus left his camp, in the habit of a beggar, mingled with the enemy's troops, and provoked some amongst them to kill him; when the Athenians sent to demand the body of their prince, the Peloponnesians, on hearing the incident, retreated.—*T.*

<sup>100</sup> *Euripus.*]—This was the name of the very narrow strait between Bœotia and Eubœa, where the sea was said by the ancients to ebb and flow seven times a day. It was rendered more memorable, because Aristotle was reported here to have destroyed himself from mortification, being unable to explain the cause of this phenomenon. It afterwards became an appellation for any strait of the sea.

The



fore the Chalcidians : they accordingly gave them battle, and obtained a complete victory, killing a prodigious number, and taking seven hundred prisoners. On the same day they passed into Eubœa, and fought the Chalcidians ; over these also they were victorious, and they left a colony to the number of four thousand on the lands of the Hippobotæ <sup>101</sup>, by which name the most opulent of the Chalcidians were distinguished. Such of these as they took prisoners, as well as their Bœotian captives, they at first put in irons, and kept in close confinement : they afterwards suffered them to be ransomed at two minæ a man, suspending their chains from the citadel. These were to be seen even within my memory, hanging from the walls which were burnt by the Medes, near the temple facing the west. The tenth part of the money produced from the ransom of their prisoners was consecrated, with it they purchased a chariot of brass <sup>102</sup> for four horses : it was placed at the left hand side of the entrance of the citadel, with this inscription :—

The circumstance of the ebb and flow of the sea in this place happening seven times a day, is thus mentioned in the Hercules of Seneca :

Euripus undas flectit instabilis vagas  
Septemque cursus volvitur totidem refert  
Dum lassâ Titan mergat oceano juga. 7.

<sup>101</sup> Hippobotæ]—literally means keepers of horses, from ἵππος, a horse, and βοσκω, to feed.

<sup>102</sup> Chariot of brass.]—From the tenth of the spoils of the Bœotians, and of the people of Chalcis, they made a chariot of brass.—See Pausanias, Attic. chap. xxviii.

Her arms, when Chalcis and Bœotia tried,  
 Athens in chains and darkness quell'd their pride:  
 Their ransom paid, the tenths are here bestow'd,  
 A votive gift to fav'ring Pallas ow'd.

LXXVIII. The Athenians continued to encrease in number and importance: not from their example alone, but from various instances, it may be made appear that an equal form of government is the best. Whilst the Athenians were in subjection to tyrants, they were superior in war to none of their neighbours, but when delivered from their oppressors, they far surpassed them all; from whence it is evident, that whilst under the restraint of a master, they were incapable of any spirited exertions, but as soon as they obtained their liberty, each man zealously exercised his talents on his own account.

LXXIX. The Thebans after this, desirous of obtaining revenge, sent to consult the oracle. In reply, the Pythian assured them, that of themselves they would be unable to accomplish this. She recommended them to consult their popular assembly, and to apply to their nearest neighbours<sup>103</sup> for assistance. Those employed in this business called on their return an assembly of their countrymen, to whom they communicated the reply of the oracle. Hearing that they were required to ask assistance of their neighbours, they deliberated amongst them-

<sup>103</sup> *Nearest neighbours.*]—The term τῶν ἀγγιστῶν is ambiguous, and may be understood either of neighbours or relations.



selves. "What," said some of them, "do not the Tanagræi<sup>104</sup>, the Coronæi<sup>105</sup>, and the Thespians<sup>106</sup>, who are our neighbours, constantly act in concert with us; do they not always assist us in war, with the most friendly and spirited exertions? To these there can be no occasion to apply; the oracle must therefore have some other meaning."

LXXX. Whilst they were thus debating, some one amongst them exclaimed, "I think that I am able to penetrate the meaning of the oracle; Asop<sup>107</sup> is reported to have had two daughters, Thebe,

<sup>104</sup> *Tanagræi.*]—The country of Tanagra, according to Pliny and others, was very celebrated for a breed of fighting cocks.—Jam ex his quidam (galli) ad bella tantum et prælia assidua nascuntur quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt Rhodum ac Tanagram.—*Pliny*, x. 21.

Its modern name is Anatolia.—*T.*

<sup>105</sup> *Coronæi.*]—Of Coronea a very singular circumstance is related, that whereas all the rest of Bœotia abounded with moles, not one was ever seen in Coronea.—*T.*

<sup>106</sup> *Thespians.*]—Thespia was one of those cities considered by the ancients as sacred to the muses, whence one of their names Thespiades.—*T.*

<sup>107</sup> *Asopus.*]—Oceanus and Tethys, as the story goes, amongst other sons after whom rivers were named, had also Peneus and Asopus; Peneus remained in the country now called Thessaly, and gave his name to the river which waters it. Asopus residing at Phlyus, married Merope, the daughter of Laden, by whom he had two sons, Pelasgus, and Ismenus, and twelve daughters, Cencyra, Salamis, Ægina, Pirene, Cleone, Thebe, Tanagra, Thespia, Asopis, Sinope, Ænia, and Chalcis. Ægina

was

“ Thebe and Ægina ; as these were sisters, I am  
 “ inclined to believe that the deity would have us  
 “ apply to the Æginetæ, to assist us in obtaining  
 “ revenge.” The Thebans not being able to devise any more plausible interpretation, thought that they acted in conformity to the will of the oracle, by sending to the Æginetæ for assistance, as to their nearest neighbours, who, in return, engaged to send the Æacidæ<sup>108</sup> to their aid.

LXXXI. The Thebans, relying on the assistance of the Æacidæ, commenced hostilities with the Athenians, but they met with so ill a reception, that they determined to send back the Æacidæ, and to require the aid of some troops. The application was favourably received, and the Æginetæ, confident in their riches, and mindful of their ancient enmity with the Athenians, began hostilities against them, without any formal declaration of war. Whilst the forces of Athens were solely employed against the Boeotians, they passed over with a fleet into Attica, and not only plundered Phaleros<sup>109</sup>, but

was carried away by Jupiter to the island which was called after her.

Asopus, informed of this by Sisyphus, pursued her ; but Jupiter struck him with his thunder.—*Diodorus Siculus*.

<sup>108</sup> Æacidæ.]—M. Larcher, comparing this with a paragraph in the following chapter, is of opinion that Herodotus here speaks not of any persons, but of images representing the Æacidæ, which the Æginetæ lent the Thebans.

<sup>109</sup> Phaleros.]—This place is now called Porto Leone.—*T*.



almost all the inhabitants of the coast; by which the Athenians sustained considerable injury.

LXXXII. The first occasion of the enmity between the Æginetæ and the Athenians was this:—The Epidaurians being afflicted by a severe and continued famine, consulted the Delphic oracle; the Pythian enjoined them to erect statues to Damia and Auxesia<sup>110</sup>, promising that their situation would then be amended. The Epidaurians next enquired, whether they should construct these statues of brass or of stone. The priestess replied, of neither, but of the wood of the garden olive. The Epidaurians, in consequence, applied to the Athenians for permission to take one of their olives, believing these of all others the most sacred; indeed it is said, that at this period olives were no where else to be found<sup>111</sup>. The Athenians granted their request, on condition that they should every year

<sup>110</sup> *Damia and Auxesia.*]—These were the same as Ceres and Proserpine: these goddesses procured fertility, and had a temple in Tegea, where they were called Carpophoræ. Pausanias relates the same fact as Herodotus, except that he calls the two goddesses Auxesia and Lamia.

They were also worshipped at Træzene, but for different reasons: Damia was the Bona Dea of the Romans; she was, also, according to Valenaer, the same as the Roman Maia.—*Larcher.*

<sup>111</sup> *To be found.*]—This assertion was by no means true, and, as Larcher remarks, Herodotus knew it, but not choosing to hurt the pride of the Athenians, he admits the report, qualifying it with, “it is said.”

furnish

furnish a sacrifice to Minerva Polias <sup>112</sup>, and to Erechtheus <sup>113</sup>. The Epidaurians acceding to these terms, constructed of the Athenian olive the figures which had been enjoined, and as their lands immediately became fruitful, they punctually fulfilled their engagements with the Athenians.

LXXXIII. At and before this period, the Æginetæ were so far in subjection to the Epidaurians, that all subjects of litigation betwixt themselves and the people of Epidaurus were determined among the latter. In process of time they built themselves a fleet, and revolted from their allegiance; becoming still more powerful, they made themselves masters of the sea, and plundered their former masters, carrying away the images of Damia and Auxesia. These they deposited in the centre of their own territories, in a place called Œea, about twenty stadia from their city: having done this, they instituted sacrifices in their honour, with ludicrous choruses of women <sup>114</sup>, assigning to each of these

<sup>112</sup> *Minerva Polias.*]—Patroness of the city, for the same reason she was called Poliouchos.

<sup>113</sup> *Erechtheus.*]—Was the sixth king of Athens, in whose reign Ceres came to Athens, and planted corn; not only he, but his daughters were received into the number of the gods.

Nostri quidem publicani cum essent in Bæotiâ deorum immortalium excepti lege censoria negabant immortales esse ullos qui aliquando homines fuissent.—Sed si sunt hi dii, est certe Erechtheus cujus Athenis et delubrum vidimus et sacerdotem.—*Cic. de Nat. Deor.* iii. 19.

<sup>114</sup> *Ludicrous choruses of women.*]—If Herodotus, where he



these goddesses ten men, who were to preside over the choruses. These choruses did not insult any male, but the females of the country. The Epidaurians had dances similar to these, with other ceremonies which were mysterious.

LXXXIV. From the time of their losing these images, the Epidaurians ceased to observe their engagements with the Athenians, who sent to remonstrate with them on the occasion. They made reply, that in this respect they were guilty of no injustice, for as long as they possessed the images, they had fulfilled all that was expected from them; having lost these, their obligation became void, devolving from them to the Æginetæ. On receiving this answer, the Athenians sent to Ægina to demand the images, but the Æginetæ denied that the Athenians had any business with them.

LXXXV. The Athenians relate, that after this refusal of their demand, they sent the persons before employed in this business in a vessel to Ægina. As these images were made of the wood of Athens, they were commissioned to carry them away from the place where they stood; but their attempt to

says that the Epidaurians honoured the goddesses Damia and Auxesia, χοροῖσι γυναικῆσι καὶ κερτομοῖσι, with choruses of women, that used to abuse and burlesque the women of the country, had called them χοροῖσι κωμικοῖσι, comical choruses, he had said nothing unworthy of a great historian; because those choruses of women, were much of the same sort that were afterwards called comical.—*Bentley on Phalaris.*

do this not prevailing, they endeavoured to remove them with ropes: in the midst of their efforts they were alarmed by an earthquake, and loud claps of thunder; those employed were seized with a madness, which caused them to kill one another; one only survived, who immediately fled to Phaleros.

LXXXVI. The above is the Athenian account. The Æginetæ affirm, that this expedition was not made in a single vessel, for the attacks of one, or even of many vessels, they could easily have repelled, even if they had possessed no ships of their own; but they say that the Athenians invaded them with a powerful fleet; in consequence of which they retired, not choosing to hazard a naval engagement. It is, however, by no means evident, whether they declined a sea-fight from a want of confidence in their own power, or whether they retired voluntarily and from design. It is certain that the Athenians, meeting with no resistance, advanced to the place where the images stood, and not able to separate them from their bases, they dragged them along with ropes; during which, both the figures did what seems incredible to me, whatever it may to others<sup>115</sup>. They assert, that they

<sup>115</sup> *Whatever it may to others.*]—This is one of the numerous examples in Herodotus, which concur to prove, that the character of credulity, so universally imputed to our historian, ought to be somewhat qualified. For my own part, I am able to recollect very few passages indeed, where, relating any thing marvellous, or exceeding credibility, he does not at the same time intimate, in some form or other, his own suspicions of the fact.—T.



both fell upon their knees, in which attitude they have ever since remained. Such were the proceedings of the Athenians. The people of Ægina, according to their own account, hearing of the hostile intentions of the Athenians, took care that the Argives should be ready to assist them. As soon, therefore, as the Athenians landed at Ægina, the Argives were at hand, and unperceived by the enemy, passed over from Epidaurus to the island, whence intercepting their retreat to their ships, they fell upon the Athenians; at which moment of time an earthquake happened, accompanied with thunder.

LXXXVII. In their relation of the above circumstances, the Æginetæ and the Argives concur. The Athenians acknowledge, that one only of their countrymen returned to Attica; but this man, the Argives say, was the sole survivor of a defeat, which they gave the Athenians; whilst these affirm, that he escaped from the vengeance of the divinity, which, however, he did not long elude, for he afterwards perished in this manner: when he returned to Athens, and related at large the destruction of his countrymen, the wives of those who had been engaged in the expedition against Ægina were extremely exasperated that he alone should survive; they accordingly surrounded the man, and each of them asking for her husband, they wounded him with the clasps<sup>116</sup> of their garments, till he died.

This

<sup>116</sup> *With the clasps.*]—The Greeks called the clasp or buckle with

This behaviour of their women was to the Athenians more afflicting than the misfortune which preceded it; all however they could do was to make them afterwards assume the Ionian dress. Before this incident, the women of Athens wore the Doric vest, which much resembles the Corinthian; that they might have no occasion for clasps, they obliged them to wear linen tunics,

with which they fastened their garments, *περσίνη*, and sometimes *πορπη*; the Latins for the same thing used the word *fibula*. Various specimens of ancient clasps or buckles may be seen in Montfaucon, the generality of which resemble a bow that is strung. Montfaucon rejects the opinion of those who affirm, that the buckles of which various ancient specimens were preserved, were only *styli*, or instruments to write with.—“The *styli*,” he adds, “were long pins, and much stronger than the pins with which they fastened the buckles anciently.” When Julius Cæsar was assassinated, he defended himself with his *stylus*, and thrust it through the arm of Casca. When the learned Frenchman says, that the ancient clasps or buckles could not possibly serve for offensive weapons, he probably was not acquainted with the fact here mentioned by Herodotus. An elegant use is made by Homer, of the probability of a wound’s being inflicted by a clasp: when Venus, having been wounded by Diomed, retires from the field, Minerva says sarcastically to Jupiter,

Permit thy daughter, gracious Jove, to tell  
How this mischance the Cyprian queen befell;  
As late she tried with passion to inflame  
The tender bosom of a Grecian dame,  
Allur’d the fair with moving thoughts of joy,  
To quit her country for some youth of Troy;  
The clasping zone, with golden buckles bound,  
Razed her soft hand with this lamented wound. T.



LXXXVIII. It seems reasonable to believe, that this vest was not originally Ionian but Carian ; formerly the dress of the Grecian females was universally the same with what we now call Dorian. It is reported, that the Argives and the Æginetæ, in opposition to the above ordinance of the Athenians, directed their women to wear clasps, almost twice as large as usual, and ordained these to be the particular votive offering made by the women, in the temples of the above divinities. They were suffered to offer there nothing which was Attic, even the common earthen vessels were prohibited, of which they were allowed to use none but what were made in their own country. Such, even to my time, has been the contradictory spirit of the women of Argos and Ægina, with respect to those of Athens, that the former have persevered in wearing their clasps larger than before,

LXXXIX. This which I have related, was the origin of the animosity between the people of Athens and Ægina. The latter still having in mind the old grievance of the statues, readily yielded to the solicitations of the Thebans, and assisted the Boeotians, by ravaging the coasts of Attica. Whilst the Athenians were preparing to revenge the injury, they were warned by a communication from the Delphic oracle, to refrain from all hostilities with the people of Ægina for the space of thirty years : at the termination of this period, they were to erect a fane to Æacus, and might then commence offensive operations against the Æginetæ with success ;

cess; but if they immediately began hostilities, although they would do the enemy essential injury, and finally subdue them, they would in the interval suffer much themselves. On receiving this communication from the oracle, the Athenians erected a sacred edifice to Æacus<sup>117</sup>, which may now be seen in their forum; but notwithstanding the menace impending over them, they were unable to defer the prosecution of their revenge for the long period of thirty years.

XC. Whilst they were thus preparing for revenge, their designs were impeded by what happened at Lacedæmon. The Spartans having discovered the intrigues between the Alcæonidæ and the Pythian, and what this last had done against the Pisistratidæ and themselves, perceived that they were involved in a double disappointment. Without at all conciliating the Athenians, they had expelled from thence their own friends and allies. They were also seriously impressed by certain ora-

<sup>117</sup> *Æacus.*]—The genealogy of Æacus is related in Ovid, book xiii. The circumstance of Jupiter, at the request of Æacus, turning ants into men, who were called from thence Myrmidons, may be found in Ovid, book vii.—

Myrmidonasque voco, nec origine nomina fraudo;  
Corpora vidisti, mores quos ante gerebant  
Nunc quoque habent, parcum genus est patiensque  
laborum,

Quæsitique tenax, et qui quæsitâ reservent.

The word Myrmidons has been anglicised, and is used to express any bold hardy ruffians, by no less authority than Swift—*T.*

cles,



cles, which taught them to expect from the Athenians many and great calamities. Of these they were entirely ignorant, till they were made known by Cleomenes at Sparta. Cleomenes had discovered and seized them in the citadel of Athens, where they had been originally deposited by the Pisistratidæ, who, on being expelled, had left them in the temple.

XCI. On hearing from Cleomenes the above oracular declarations, the Lacedæmonians observed that the Athenians increased in power, and were but little inclined to remain subject to them; they farther reflected, that though when oppressed by tyrants, the people of Athens were weak and submissive, the possession of liberty would not fail to make them formidable rivals. In consequence of these deliberations, they sent for Hippias the son of Pisistratus, from Sigeum on the Hellespont, where the Pisistratidæ had taken refuge. On his arrival, they assembled also the representatives of their other allies, and thus expressed themselves: “ We confess to you, friends and allies, that under the impression of oracles, which deceived us, we have greatly erred. The men who had claims upon our kindness, and who would have rendered Athens obedient to our will, we have banished from their country, and have delivered that city into the power of an ungrateful faction. Not remembering that to us they are indebted for their liberty, they are become insolent, and have expelled disgracefully from amongst them, us and

“ our king. They are endeavouring, we hear, to  
 “ make themselves more and more formidable;  
 “ this their neighbours the Bœotians and Chalci-  
 “ dians have already experienced, as will others  
 “ also who may happen to offend them. To atone  
 “ for our past errors and neglect, we now profess  
 “ ourselves ready to assist you in chastising them:  
 “ for this reason, we have sent for Hippias, and  
 “ assembled you; intending, by the joint opera-  
 “ tions of one united army, to restore him to  
 “ Athens, and to that dignity of which we for-  
 “ merly deprived him.”

XCII. These sentiments of the Spartans were approved by very few of the confederates. After a long interval of silence, Socrates of Corinth made this reply: “ We may henceforth certainly expect  
 “ to see the heavens take the place of the earth <sup>118</sup>,  
 “ the earth that of the heavens; to see mankind  
 “ existing in the waters, and the scaly tribe on  
 “ earth, since you, oh Lacedæmonians, meditate  
 “ the subversion of free and equal governments, and  
 “ the establishment of arbitrary power; than which

<sup>118</sup> *Take the place of the earth.*]—With a sentiment similar to this, Ovid commences one of his most beautiful elegies:

In caput alta suum labentur ab æquore retro  
 Flumina, conversis solque recurret equis,  
 Terra feret stellas, cœlum findetur aratro,  
 Unda dabit flammæ et dabit ignis aquas;  
 Omnia naturæ præpostera legibus ibunt,  
 Parsque suum mundi nulla tenebit iter.  
 Omnia jam fient, fieri quæ posse negabam,  
 Et nihil est de quo non sit habenda fides.

T.

“ surely



“ surely nothing can be more unjust in itself, or  
 “ more sanguinary in its effects. If you consider  
 “ tyranny with so favourable an eye, before you  
 “ think of introducing it elsewhere, shew us the  
 “ example, and submit first to a tyrant yourselves :  
 “ at present, you are not only without a tyrant,  
 “ but it should seem, that in Sparta, nothing can be  
 “ guarded against with more vigilant anxiety ; why  
 “ then wish to involve your confederates in what  
 “ to you appears so great a calamity ; a calamity  
 “ which like us if you had known, experience  
 “ would doubtless have prompted a more sagacious  
 “ counsel. The government of Corinth was for-  
 “ merly in the hands of a few ; they who were  
 “ called the Bacchiadæ <sup>119</sup> had the administration of  
 “ affairs. To cement and confirm their authority,  
 “ they were careful to contract no marriages but  
 “ amongst themselves. One of these, whose name  
 “ was Amphion, had a daughter called Labda <sup>120</sup>,  
 “ who

<sup>119</sup> *Bacchiadæ* ]—Pausanias and Diodorus Siculus are a little at variance with our author in their accounts of the Bacchiadæ. The matter however seems from them all to be this : Bacchis was one of the Heraclidæ, and prince of Corinth ; on account of his splendid character and virtues, his descendants took the name of Bacchiadæ, which with the sovereignty of Corinth, they retained till they were expelled by Cypselus.—T.

<sup>120</sup> *Labda*.]—This, says M. Larcher, was not her real name, but was given her on account of the resemblance which her lameness made her bear to the letter L, or Lambda. Anciently the letter Lambda was called Labda. It was a common custom amongst the ancients to give as nicknames the letters of the alphabet. Æsop was called Theta, by his master Jadmus, from his superior acuteness, Thetes being also a name for slaves. Galerius Crassus, a military tribune under the Emperor Tiberius,

“ who was lame. As none of the Bacchiadæ were  
 “ willing to marry her, they united her to Eetion, son  
 “ of Echecrates, who, though of the low tribe of  
 “ Petra, was in his origin one of the Lapithæ<sup>121</sup>,  
 “ descended from Cæneus<sup>122</sup>. As he had no children  
 “ by this or by any other wife, he sent to Delphi to  
 “ consult the oracle on this subject. At the mo-  
 “ ment of his entering the temple, he was thus ad-  
 “ dressed by the Pythian:—

“ Eetion, honour'd far below thy worth ;  
 “ Know Labda shall produce a monstrous birth,  
 “ A stone, which, rolling with enormous weight,  
 “ Shall crush usurpers, and reform the state.

“ This prediction to Eetion came by accident to  
 “ the ears of the Bacchiadæ. An oracle had before  
 “ spoken concerning Corinth, which though dark

berius, was called Beta, because he loved Beet (*poirée*). Or-  
 pyllis, a courtesan of Cyzicum, was named Gamma ; Anthe-  
 nor, who wrote the history of Crete, was called Delta ; Apol-  
 lonius who lived in the time of Philopater, was named Epsilon,  
 &c.—*Larcher*.

<sup>121</sup> *Lapithæ*.]—The Lapithæ were celebrated in antiquity, as  
 being the first people who used bridles and harness for horses :

Fræna Pelethronii Lapithæ gyroſque dedere  
 Impositi dorſo. *Virgil*.

<sup>122</sup> *Cæneus*.]—The story of Cæneus is this : Cænis was a vir-  
 gin, and was ravished by Neptune, who afterwards, at her request,  
 turned her into a man, and caused her to be invulnerable. After  
 this change of sex his name also was changed to Cæneus ; he  
 then fought with the Lapithæ against the Centaurs, who not able  
 otherwise to destroy him, overwhelmed him beneath a pile of  
 wood. Ovid says he was then turned into a bird ; Virgil, on  
 the contrary, asserts, that he resumed his former sex.—*T*.



“ and obscure, was evidently of the same tendency  
 “ with that declared to Eetion: it was this:—

“ Amidst the rocks an eagle <sup>123</sup> shall produce

“ An eagle, who shall many knees unloose,

“ Bloody and strong: guard then your measures  
 “ well,

“ Ye who in Corinth and Pirene <sup>124</sup> dwell!

“ When this oracle was first delivered to the Bacchi-  
 “ adæ, they had no conception of its meaning; but  
 “ as soon as they learned the particulars of that given  
 “ to Eetion, they understood the first from the last.  
 “ The result was, that they confined the secret to  
 “ themselves, determining to destroy the future child  
 “ of Eetion. As soon as the woman was delivered,  
 “ they commissioned ten of their number to go to  
 “ the place where Eetion lived, and make away with  
 “ the infant. As soon as they came to where the tribe  
 “ of Petra resided, they went to Eetion’s house, and  
 “ asked for the child: Labda, ignorant of their in-  
 “ tentions, and imputing this visit to their friendship  
 “ for her husband, produced her infant, and gave it  
 “ to the arms of one of them. It had been con-  
 “ certed, that whoever should first have the child in  
 “ his hands, was to dash it on the ground: it hap-  
 “ pened, as if by divine interposition, that the infant  
 “ smiled in the face <sup>125</sup> of the man to whom the mo-  
 “ ther

<sup>123</sup> *An eagle.*]—Eetion is derived from the Greek word *αετος*, an eagle.

<sup>124</sup> *Pirene.*]—This fountain was sacred to the muses, and remarkable for the sweetness of its waters.

<sup>125</sup> *Smiled in the face.*]—The effects of an infant smiling in  
 the

“ ther had entrusted it. He was seized with an emo-  
 “ tion of pity, and found himself unable to destroy it;  
 “ with these feelings, he gave the child to the person  
 “ next him, who gave it to a third, till thus it passed  
 “ through the hands of all the ten : none of them  
 “ was able to murder it, and it was returned to the  
 “ mother. On leaving the house, they stopped at the  
 “ gate, and began to reproach and accuse each other,  
 “ but particularly him who first receiving the child,  
 “ had failed in his engagements. After a short inter-  
 “ val, they agreed to enter the house again, and jointly  
 “ destroy the child : but fate had determined that the  
 “ offspring of Eetion should ultimately prove the de-  
 “ struction of Corinth. Labda, standing near the gate,  
 “ had overheard their discourse, and fearing that as  
 “ their sentiments were changed, they would infal-  
 “ libly, if they had opportunity, murder her infant,  
 “ she carried it away, and hid it in a place little ob-  
 “ vious to suspicion, namely in a corn-measure <sup>126</sup>.  
 “ She

the face of rude untutored men, is delightfully expressed in part of an ode on the use and abuse of poetry, preserved by Warton, in his Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope.

Father of peace and arts—he first the city built;  
 No more the neighbour’s blood was by his neighbour spilt;  
 He taught to till and separate the lands;  
 He fix’d the roving youths in Hymen’s myrtle bands,  
     Whence dear domestic life began,  
     And all the charities that softened man :  
 The babes that in their fathers faces smil’d,  
 With lisping blandishments their rage beguil’d,  
 And tender thoughts inspired.

<sup>126</sup> *In a corn measure.*]—The description of this chest, which was preserved in the temple of Juno at Olympia, employs several chapters in the fifth book of Pausanias. He tells us that  
the



“ She was satisfied, that on their return they would  
 “ make a strict search after the child, which accord-  
 “ ingly happened : finding however all their dili-  
 “ gence ineffectual, they thought it only remained for  
 “ them to return and acquaint their employers, that  
 “ they had executed their commission. When the  
 “ son of Eetion grew up, he was called Cypselus, in  
 “ memory of the danger he had escaped in the  
 “ ‘corn-measure,’ the meaning of the word Cypsela.  
 “ On his arrival at manhood, he consulted the Del-  
 “ phic oracle : the answer he received was ambi-  
 “ guous ; but confident of its favourable meaning,  
 “ he attacked and made himself master of Corinth.  
 “ The oracle was this :—

“ Behold a man whom fortune makes her care,  
 “ Corinthian Cypselus, Eetion’s heir ;  
 “ Himself shall reign, his children too prevail,  
 “ But there the glories of his race must fail.

“ When Cypselus had obtained possession of the go-  
 “ vernment, he persecuted the inhabitants of Co-  
 “ rinth, depriving many of their wealth, and more  
 “ of their lives. After an undisturbed reign of thirty  
 “ years, he was succeeded by his son Periander,  
 “ who at first adopted a milder and more mode-  
 “ rate conduct ; but having by his emissaries formed  
 “ an intimate connection with Thrasylbulus, fove-

the chest was made of cedar, and that its outside was enriched  
 with animals, and a variety of historical representations in  
 cedar, ivory, and gold. “ It is not likely,” says M. Larcher,  
 “ that the chest described by Pausanias was the real chest in  
 which Cypselus was preserved, but one made on purpose to  
 commemorate the incident.”—7.

“ reign

“ reign of Miletus he even exceeded his father in  
 “ cruelty. The object of one of his embassies was  
 “ to enquire of Thrasylbulus what mode of govern-  
 “ ment would render his authority most secure and  
 “ most honourable. Thrasylbulus conducted the  
 “ messenger to a corn-field without the town,  
 “ where, as he walked up and down, he asked some  
 “ questions of the man relative to his departure from  
 “ Corinth; in the mean while, wherever he dis-  
 “ cerned a head of corn taller than the rest<sup>127</sup>, he  
 “ cut it off, till all the highest and the richest were  
 “ levelled with the ground. Having gone over the  
 “ whole field in this manner, he retired, without  
 “ speaking a word to the person who attended him.  
 “ On the return of his emissary to Corinth, Perian-  
 “ der was extremely anxious to learn the result of  
 “ his journey, but he was informed, that Thrasylbu-  
 “ lus had never said a word in reply; that he even  
 “ appeared to be a man deprived of his reason, and  
 “ bent on the destruction of his own property. The  
 “ messenger then proceeded to inform his master of  
 “ what Thrasylbulus had done. Periander immedi-  
 “ ately conceived the meaning of Thrasylbulus to be,  
 “ that he should destroy the most illustrious of his  
 “ citizens. He in consequence exercised every  
 “ species of cruelty, till he completed what his fa-

<sup>127</sup> *Taller than the rest.*]—A similar story is told of Tarquin the Proud, and his son Sextus, who striking off the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden, thus intimated his desire that his son should destroy the most eminent characters of Gabii, of which he was endeavouring by stratagem to make himself master.—See *Livy*, b. i. ch. 54. It is remarkable that Aristotle in his *Politics* twice mentions this enigmatical advice as given by Periander to Thrasylbulus.—*T.*



“ ther Cypselus had begun, killing some, and driv-  
 “ ing others into exile. On account of his wife  
 “ Melissa, he one day stripped all the women of  
 “ Corinth of their cloaths. He had sent into Thes-  
 “ protia near the river Acheron, to consult the  
 “ oracle of the dead \* concerning something of  
 “ value which had been left by a stranger. Melissa  
 “ appearing, declared that she would by no means  
 “ tell where the thing required was deposited, for  
 “ she was cold and naked; for the garments in  
 “ which she was interred were of no service to her,  
 “ not having been burned. In proof of which she  
 “ asserted, that Periander had ‘ put bread into a  
 “ cold oven;’ Periander, on hearing this, was sa-  
 “ tisfied of the truth of what she said, for he had  
 “ embraced Melissa after her decease. On the re-  
 “ turn therefore of his messengers, he commanded  
 “ all the women of Corinth to assemble at the tem-  
 “ ple of Juno. On this occasion the women came  
 “ as to some public festival, adorned with the great-  
 “ est splendour. The king having placed his guards  
 “ for the purpose, caused them all to be stripped,  
 “ free women and slaves, without distinction. Their  
 “ cloaths were afterwards disposed in a large trench,  
 “ and burned in honour of Melissa, who was solemn-  
 “ ly invoked on the occasion. When this was done,  
 “ a second messenger was dispatched to Melissa, who

\* *The oracle of the dead.*]—*Νεκρομαντῆριον*, a place where di-  
 vination was carried on by calling up the dead with magical  
 rites. Pausanias places this oracle at Aornos in Thesprotia.  
 The superstitions of Italy seem to have been borrowed from that  
 country; hence Cicero mentions an oracle of the same kind at  
 the lake Avernus in Italy.—*Tusc.* i. 16.

“ now vouchsafed to say where the thing required  
 “ might be found.—Such, oh men of Sparta, is a  
 “ tyrannical government, and such its effects. Much  
 “ therefore were we Corinthians astonished, when  
 “ we learned that you had sent for Hippias; but  
 “ the declaration of your sentiments surprises us still  
 “ more. We adjure you therefore, in the names of  
 “ the divinities of Greece, not to establish tyranny  
 “ in our cities. But if you are determined in your  
 “ purpose, and are resolved in opposition to what  
 “ is just, to restore Hippias, be assured that the Co-  
 “ rinthians will not second you.”

XCH. Socrates, the deputy of the Corinthians,  
 having delivered his sentiments, was answered by  
 Hippias. He having adjured the same divinities,  
 declared, that the Corinthians would most of all  
 have occasion to regret the Pisistratidæ, when the  
 destined hour should arrive, and they should groan  
 under the oppression of the Athenians. Hippias  
 spoke with the greater confidence, because he was  
 best acquainted with the declarations of the oracles.  
 The rest of the confederates, who had hitherto been  
 silent, hearing the generous sentiments of Socrates,  
 declared themselves the friends of freedom, and fa-  
 vourers of the opinions of the Corinthians. They  
 then conjured the Lacedæmonians to introduce no  
 innovations which might affect the liberties of a  
 Grecian city.

XCIV. When Hippias departed from Sparta,  
 Amyntas the Macedonian prince offered him for a  
 residence Anthemus, as did the Thessalians Iol-



cos<sup>128</sup>; but he would accept of neither, and returned to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken by force from the people of Mitylene. He had appointed Hegesistratus, his natural son by a woman of Argos, governor of the place, who did not retain his situation, but after much and violent contest. The people of Mitylene and of Athens issuing, the one from the city of Achillea<sup>129</sup>, the other from Sigeum, were long engaged in hostilities. They of Mitylene insisted on the restoration of what had been violently taken from them; but it was answered, that the Æolians had no stronger claims upon the territories of Troy than the Athenians themselves, and the rest of the Greeks, who had assisted Menelaus in avenging the rape of Helen.

XCV. Among their various encounters it happened, that in a severe engagement, in which the Athenians had the advantage, the poet Alcæus<sup>130</sup> fled

<sup>128</sup> *Iolcos.*]—This place is now called Iaco; we learn from Horace, that it was formerly famous for producing poisonous plants:

Herbasque quas Iolcos atque Iberia  
Mittit venenorum ferax.

<sup>129</sup> *Achillea.*]—In the fourth book, Herodotus calls this place the Course of Achilles. Its modern name is Fidonisi.—7.

<sup>130</sup> *Alcæus.*]—Was a native of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos; he was cotemporary with Sappho, and generally is considered as the inventor of lyric poetry. Archilochus, Alcæus, and Horace, were all unsuccessful in their attempts to distinguish themselves as soldiers; and all of them ingenuously acknowledged their inferiority in this respect. Bayle doubts whether Horace would have confessed his disgrace, if he had not been sanctioned by the great examples above-mentioned. However that may be, he writes thus of himself:

Tecum

fled from the field. The Athenians obtained his arms, and suspended them at Sigeum, in the temple of Minerva. Alcæus recorded the event in a poem which

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam  
Sensi, relictâ non bene parmula  
Quum fracta virtus et minaces  
Turpe solum tetigere mento.

Of Alcæus we have very few remains; but it is understood that Horace in many of his odes minutely imitated him. The principal subjects of his muse seem to have been the praise of liberty and a hatred of tyrants. The ancient poets abound with passages in his honour, and his memory receives no disgrace from the following apostrophe by Akenfide, in his ode on lyric poetry :

Broke from the fetters of his native land,  
Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,  
With louder impulse and a threatening hand  
The Lesbian patriot smites the sounding chords,  
Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,  
Ye cursed of gods and free-born men,  
Ye murderers of the laws,  
Tho' now ye glory in your lust,  
Tho' now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,

Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause.

After all, Alcæus does not appear to have been one of the fairest characters of antiquity, and has probably received more commendation than he deserved. His house, we learn from Athenæus, was filled with military weapons, his great desire was to attain military glory; but in his first engagement with an enemy, he ignominiously fled. The theme of his songs was liberty, but he was strongly suspected of being a secret friend to some who meditated the ruin of their country. I say nothing of his supposed licentious overture to Sappho, thinking with Bayle, that the verses cited by Aristotle have been too hardly construed. Of these verses the following is an imperfect translation;



which he sent to Mitylene, explaining to a friend named Melanippus the particulars of his misfortune. Periander the son of Cypselus at length reunited the contending nations: he being chosen arbiter, determined that each party should retain what they possessed. Sigeum thus devolved to the Athenians.

XCVI. Hippias, when he left Sparta, went to Asia, where he used every effort to render the Athenians odious to Artaphernes, and to prevail on him to make them subject to him and to Darius. As soon as the intrigues of Hippias were known at Athens, the Athenians dispatched emissaries to Sardis, intreating the Persians to place no confidence in men whom they had driven into exile. Artaphernes informed them in reply, that if they wished for peace, they must recal Hippias. Rather than accede to these conditions, the Athenians chose to be considered as the enemies of Persia.

XCVII. Whilst they were resolving on these measures, in consequence of the impression which had been made to their prejudice in Persia, Aristagoras the Milesian, being driven by Cleomenes

A L C Œ U S.

I wish to speak, but still thro' shame conceal  
The thoughts my tongue most gladly would reveal.

S A P P H O.

Were your request, oh bard, on virtue built,  
Your cheeks would wear no marks of secret guilt;  
But in prompt words the ready thought had flown,  
And your heart's honest meaning quickly shewn.

I give them, with some slight alteration, from Bayle.—7.

from Sparta, arrived at Athens, which city was then powerful beyond the rest of its neighbours. When Aristagoras appeared in the public assembly, he enumerated, as he had done at Sparta, the riches which Asia possessed, and recommended a Persian war, in which they would be easily successful against a people using neither spear nor shield<sup>131</sup>. In addition to this, he remarked that Miletus was an Athenian colony, and that consequently it became the Athenians to exert the great power they possessed in favour of the Milesians. He proceeded to make use of the most earnest intreaties and lavish promises, till they finally acceded to his views. He thought, and as it appeared with justice, that it was far easier to delude a great multitude than a single individual; he was unable to prevail upon Cleomenes, but he won to his purpose no less than thirty thousand<sup>132</sup> Athenians. The people of A-

<sup>131</sup> *Spear nor shield.*]—A particular account of the military habit and arms of the oriental nations may be found in the seventh book of Herodotus, where he speaks of the nations which composed the prodigious armament of Xerxes.—T.

<sup>132</sup> *Thirty thousand.*]—Herodotus is the only ancient author who makes the aggregate of the Athenians amount to more than twenty-one thousand individuals. Is this, inquires M. Larcher, a fault of the copyists, or were the Athenians more populous before the Persian and Peloponnesian wars? “The narrow policy,” observes Mr. Gibbon, “of preserving, without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient citizens, had checked the fortune, and hastened the ruin of Athens and Sparta. The aspiring genius of Rome sacrificed vanity to ambition, and deemed it more prudent as well as honourable, to adopt virtue and merit for her own, wheresoever they were found, among slaves or strangers, enemies or barbarians.”



thens accordingly agreed to send to the assistance of the Ionians, twenty vessels of war, of which Melanthius, a very amiable and popular character, was to have the command. This fleet was the source of the calamities<sup>13</sup> which afterwards ensued to the Greeks and Barbarians.

XCVIII. Before their departure, Aristagoras returned to Miletus, where he contrived a measure from which no advantage could possibly result to the Ionians. Indeed, his principal motive was to distress Darius. He dispatched a messenger into Phrygia, to those Pæonians who from the banks of the Strymon had been led away captive by Megabyzus, and who inhabited a district appropriated to them. His emissaries thus addressed them:—  
 “ Men of Pæonia, I am commissioned by Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, to say, that if you will follow his counsel, you may be free. The whole of Ionia has revolted from Persia, and it becomes you to seize this opportunity of returning to your native country. You have only to appear on the banks of the ocean; we will provide for the

<sup>13</sup> *Source of the calamities.*]—This is another of the examples which Plutarch adduces in proof of the malice of Herodotus. “ He has the audacity,” says Plutarch, “ to affirm, that the vessels which the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Ionians, who had revolted from the Persians, were the cause of the evils which afterwards ensued, merely because they endeavoured to deliver so many, and such illustrious Grecian cities from servitude.” In point of argument, a weaker tract than this of Plutarch was never written, and this assertion in particular is too absurd to require any formal refutation.—T.

“ rest,”

“rest.” The Pæonians received this information with great satisfaction, and with their wives and children fled towards the sea. Some, however, yielding to their fears, remained behind. From the sea-coast they passed over to Chios: here they had scarce disembarked, before a large body of Persian cavalry, sent in pursuit of them, appeared on the opposite shore. Unable to overtake them, they sent over to them at Chios, soliciting their return. This however had no effect: from Chios they were transported to Lesbos, from Lesbos to Doriscus<sup>134</sup>, and from hence they proceeded by land to Pæonia.

XCIX. At this juncture, Aristagoras was joined by the Athenians in twenty vessels, who were also accompanied by five triremes of Eretrians. These latter did not engage in the contest from any regard for the Athenians, but to discharge a similar debt of friendship to the Milesians. The Milesians had formerly assisted the Eretrians against the Chalcidians, when the Samians had united with them against the Eretrians and Milesians. When these and the rest of his confederates were assembled, Aristagoras commenced an expedition against Sardis: he himself continued at Miletus, whilst his brother Charopinus commanded the Milesians, and Hermophantus had the conduct of the allies.

<sup>134</sup> *Doriscus.*]—Doriscus is memorable for being the place where Xerxes numbered his army.—*T.*



C. The Ionians arriving with their fleet at Ephesus, disembarked at Coreffus, a place in its vicinity. Taking some Ephesians for their guides, they advanced with a formidable force, directing their march towards the Cayster <sup>135</sup>. Passing over mount Tmolus, they arrived at Sardis, where meeting no resistance, they made themselves masters of the whole of the city, except the citadel. This was defended by Artaphernes himself, with a large body of troops.

CI. The following incident preserved the city from plunder: the houses of Sardis <sup>136</sup> were in general constructed of reeds; such few as were of brick had reed coverings. One of these being set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house, till the whole city was consumed. In the midst of the conflagration, the Lydians, and such Persians as were in the city, seeing themselves surrounded by the flames, and without the possibility of escape, rushed in crowds to the forum, through the center of which flows the Pactolus. This river

<sup>135</sup> *Cayster.*]—This river was very famous in classic story. It anciently abounded with swans, and from its serpentine course has sometimes been confounded with the Mæander; but the Mæander was the appropriate river of the Milesians, as was the Cayster of the Ephesians. The name the Turks now give it is Chiay.—T.

<sup>136</sup> *Sardis.*]—The reader will recollect that Sardis was the capital of Cræsus, which is here represented as consisting only of a number of thatched houses, a proof that architecture had as yet made no progress.—T.

brings,

brings, in its descent from mount Tmolus, a quantity of gold dust <sup>137</sup>; passing, as we have described, through Sardis, it mixes with the Hermus, till both are finally lost in the sea. The Persians and Lydians thus reduced to the last extremity, were compelled to act on the defensive. The Ionians seeing some of the enemy prepared to defend themselves, others advancing to attack them, were seized with a panic, and retired to mount Tmolus <sup>138</sup>, from whence, under favour of the night, they retreated to their ships.

CII. In the burning of Sardis, the temple of Cybele, the tutelar goddess of the country, was totally destroyed, which was afterwards made a pretence by the Persians for burning the temples of the Greeks. When the Persians who dwell on this side the Halys were acquainted with the above invasion, they determined to assist the Lydians. Following the Ionians regularly from Sardis, they came up with them at Ephesus. A general engagement ensued, in which the Ionians were defeated with

<sup>137</sup> *Gold dust.*]—It had ceased to do this in the time of Strabo, that is to say, in the age of Augustus.—*Larcher.*

<sup>138</sup> *Tmolus.*]—Strabo enumerates mount Tmolus amongst the places which produced the most excellent vines. It was also celebrated for its saffron.—See Virgil,

Nonne vides croceos ut Tmolus odores, &c.

It was also called Timolus. See Ovid,

Deseruere sui nymphæ vineta Timoli.

It is now named Timolitze.—*T.*

great



great slaughter. Amongst others of distinction who fell, was Eualcis, chief of the Eretrians: he had frequently been victorious in many contests, of which a garland was the reward, and had been particularly celebrated by Simonides of Ceos<sup>139</sup>. They who escaped from this battle took refuge in the different cities.

CIII. After the event of the above expedition, the Athenians withdrew themselves entirely from the Ionians, and refused all the solicitations of Aristagoras by his ambassadors, to repeat their assistance. The Ionians, though deprived of this resource, continued with no less alacrity to persevere in the hostilities they had commenced against Darius. They sailed to the Hellespont, and reduced Byzantium, with the neighbouring cities: quitting that part again, and advancing to Caria, the greater part of

<sup>139</sup> *Simonides of Ceos.*]—There were several poets of this name; the celebrated satire against women was written by another and more modern Simonides. The great excellence of this Simonides of Ceos was elegiac composition, in which Dionysius Halicarnassus does not scruple to prefer him to Pindar. The invention of local memory was ascribed to him, and it is not a little remarkable, that at the age of eighty, he contended for and won a poetical prize. His most memorable saying was concerning God. Hiero asked him what God was? After many and reiterated delays, his answer was, “The longer I meditate upon it, the more obscure the subject appears to me.” He is reproached for having been the first who prostituted his muse for mercenary purposes. Bayle seems to have collected every thing of moment relative to this Simonides, to whom for more minute particulars, I refer the reader.—T,

the inhabitants joined them in their offensive operations. The city of Caunus, which at first had refused their alliance, after the burning of Sardis added itself to their forces,

CIV. The confederacy was also farther strengthened by the voluntary accession of all the Cyprians, except the Amathusians <sup>140</sup>. The following was the occasion of the revolt of the Cyprians from the Medes: Gorgus prince of Salamis, son of Cherfis, grandson of Siromus, great grandson of Euelthon, had a younger brother, whose name was Onesilus; this man had repeatedly solicited Gorgus to revolt from the Persians; and on hearing of the secession of the Ionians, he urged him with still greater importunity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, assisted by his party, he took an opportunity of his brother's making an excursion from Salamis to shut the gates against him: Gorgus, thus deprived of his city, took refuge amongst the Medes. Onesilus usurped his station, and persuaded the Cyprians to rebel. The Amathusians, who alone opposed him, he closely besieged.

CV. At this period, Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras of Miletus was the principal

<sup>140</sup> *Amathusians.*]—From Amathus, which was sacred to Venus, the whole island of Cyprus was sometimes called Amathusia.—According to Ovid, it produced abundance of metals;

Gravidamque Amathunta metallis.

T.

instigator



instigator of the confederacy against him. On first receiving the intelligence, he is said to have treated the revolt of the Ionians with extreme contempt, as if certain that it was impossible for them to escape his indignation; but he desired to know who the Athenians were? on being told, he called for his bow, and shooting an arrow into the air, he exclaimed:—"Suffer me, oh Jupiter, to be revenged  
" on these Athenians." He afterwards directed one of his attendants to repeat to him three times every day, when he sat down to table, "Sir, remember  
" the Athenians."

CVI. After giving these orders, Darius summoned to his presence Histæus of Miletus, whom he had long detained at his court. He addressed him thus: "I am informed, Histæus, that the man to whom  
" you entrusted the government of Miletus, has  
" excited a rebellion against me; he has procured  
" forces from the opposite continent, and seduced  
" the Ionians, whom I shall unquestionably chastise,  
" from their duty. With their united assistance,  
" he has destroyed my city of Sardis. Can such a  
" conduct possibly meet with your approbation?  
" or unadvised by you, could he have done what  
" he has? Be careful not to involve yourself in a  
" second offence against my authority." "Can  
" you, Sir, believe," said Histæus in reply, "that  
" I would be concerned in any thing which might  
" occasion the smallest perplexity to you? What  
" should I, who have nothing to wish for, gain by  
" such conduct? Do I not participate all that you  
" yourself

“ yourself enjoy ; and have I not the honour of  
 “ being your counsellor and your friend ? If my  
 “ representative has acted as you alledge, it is en-  
 “ tirely his own deed ; but I cannot easily be per-  
 “ suaded that either he, or the Milesians, would  
 “ engage in any thing to your prejudice. If, ne-  
 “ vertheless, what you intimate be really true, by  
 “ withdrawing me from my own proper station,  
 “ you have only to blame yourself for the event.  
 “ I suppose that the Ionians have taken the oppor-  
 “ tunity of my absence, to accomplish what they  
 “ have for a long time meditated. Had I been  
 “ present in Ionia, I will venture to affirm, that not  
 “ a city would have revolted from your power :  
 “ you have only therefore to send me instantly to  
 “ Ionia, that things may resume their former situ-  
 “ ation, and that I may give into your power the  
 “ present governor of Miletus, who has occasioned  
 “ all this mischief. Having first effected this, I  
 “ swear by the deities of Heaven, that I will not  
 “ change the garb in which I shall set foot in Ionia,  
 “ without rendering the great island of Sardinia <sup>142</sup>  
 “ tributary to your power.”

<sup>142</sup> *Sardinia.*]—It has been doubted by many, whether on account of the vast distance of Sardinia from the Asiatic continent, the text of Herodotus has not here been altered. Rollin in particular is very incredulous on the subject ; but as it appears by the preceding passages of our author, that the Ionians had penetrated to the extremities of the Mediterranean, and were not unacquainted with Corsica, all appearance of improbability in this narration ceases.—T.



CVII. Histiaëus made these protestations to delude Darius. The king was influenced by what he said, only requiring his return to Susa as soon as he should have fulfilled his engagements.

CVIII. In this interval, when the messenger from Sardis had informed Darius of the fate of that city, and the king had done with his bow what we have described; and when, after conferring with Histiaëus, he had dismissed him to Ionia, the following incident occurred: Onesilus of Salamis being engaged in the siege of Amathus, word was brought him that Artybius, a Persian officer, was on his way to Cyprus with a large fleet, and a formidable body of Persians. On hearing this, Onesilus sent messengers to different parts of Ionia, expressing his want and desire of assistance. The Ionians, without hesitation, hastened to join him with a numerous fleet. Whilst they were already at Cyprus, the Persians had passed over from Cilicia, and were proceeding by land to Salamis. The Phœnicians in the mean time had passed the promontory which is called the Key of Cyprus.

CIX. Whilst things were in this situation, the princes of Cyprus assembled the Ionian chiefs, and thus addressed them:—"Men of Ionia, we submit  
 "to your own determination, whether you will en-  
 "gage the Phœnicians or the Persians. If you  
 "rather chuse to fight on land and with the Per-  
 "sians, it is time for you to disembark, that we  
 "may go on board your vessels, and attack the  
 "Phœnicians.

“ Phœnicians.—If you think it more adviseable to  
 “ encounter the Phœnicians, it becomes you to do  
 “ so immediately.—Decide which way you please,  
 “ that as far as our efforts can prevail, Ionia and  
 “ Cyprus may be free.” “ We have been com-  
 “ missioned,” answered the Ionians, “ by our coun-  
 “ try, to guard the ocean, not to deliver up our  
 “ vessels unto you, nor to engage the Persians by  
 “ land.—We will endeavour to discharge our duty  
 “ in the station appointed us; it is for you to dis-  
 “ tinguish yourselves as valiant men, remembering  
 “ the oppressions you have endured from the  
 “ Medes.”

CX. When the Persians were drawn up before Salamis, the Cyprian commanders placed the forces of Cyprus against the auxiliaries of the enemy, selecting the flower of Salamis and Soli to oppose the Persians: Onesilus voluntarily stationed himself against Artybius the Persian General.

CXI. Artybius was mounted on a charger, which had been taught to face a man in complete armour: Onesilus hearing this, called to him his shield-bearer, who was a Carian of great military experience, and of undaunted courage:—“ I hear,” says he, “ that the horse of Artybius, by his feet  
 “ and his teeth, materially assists his master against  
 “ an adversary; deliberate on this, and tell me  
 “ which you will encounter, the man or the horse.”  
 “ Sir,” said the attendant, “ I am ready to engage  
 “ with either, or both, or indeed to do whatever  
 VOL. II. I i “ you



“ you command me ; I should rather think it will  
“ be more consistent for you, being a prince and a  
“ general, to contend with one who is a prince  
“ and general also. — If you should fortunately  
“ kill a person of this description, you will acquire  
“ great glory, or if you should fall by his hand,  
“ which heaven avert, the calamity is somewhat  
“ softened by the rank of the conqueror : it is for  
“ us of inferior rank to oppose men like ourselves.  
“ As to the horse, do not concern yourself about  
“ what he has been taught ; I will venture to say,  
“ that he shall never again be troublesome to any  
“ one.”

CXII. In a short time afterwards, the hostile forces engaged both by sea and land ; the Ionians, after a severe contest, obtained a victory over the Phœnicians, in which the bravery of the Samians was remarkably conspicuous. Whilst the armies were engaged by land, the following incident happened to the two generals :—Artybius, mounted on his horse, rushed against Onesilus, who, as he had concerted with his servant, aimed a blow at him as he approached : and whilst the horse reared up his feet against the shield of Onesilus, the Carian cut them off with an ax.—The horse, with his master, fell instantly to the ground.

CXIII. In the midst of the battle, Stesenor, prince of Curium, with a considerable body of forces, went over to the enemy (it is said that the Curians are an Argive colony) ; their example was followed

followed by the men of Salamis, in their chariots of war <sup>142</sup>; from which events the Persians obtained a decisive victory. The Cyprians fled. Amongst the number of the slain was Onesilus, son of Chersis, and principal instigator of the revolt; the Solian prince, Aristocyprus, also fell, son of that Philocyprus <sup>143</sup>, whom Solon of Athens, when at Cyprus, celebrated in verse amongst other sovereign princes.

CXIV. In revenge for his besieging them, the Amathusians took the head of Onesilus, and carrying it back in triumph, fixed it over their gates: some time afterwards, when the inside of the head was decayed, a swarm of bees settling in it, filled it with honey. The people of Amathus consulted the oracle on the occasion, and were directed to bury the head, and every year to sacrifice to Onesilus as to an hero. their obedience involved a promise of future prosperity; and even within my

<sup>142</sup> *Chariots of war.*]—Of these chariots, frequent mention is made in Homer: they carried two men, one of whom guided the reins, the other fought.—Various specimens of ancient chariots may be seen in Montfaucon.—*T.*

<sup>143</sup> *Philocyprus.*]—Philocyprus was prince of Soli, when Solon arrived at Cyprus; Solis was then called *Æpeia*, and the approaches to it were steep and difficult, and its neighbourhood unfruitful. Solon advised the prince to rebuild it on the plain which it overlooked, and undertook the labour of furnishing it with inhabitants. In this he succeeded, and Philocyprus, from gratitude, gave his city the name of the Athenian philosopher. Solon mentions this incident in some verses addressed to Philocyprus, preserved in Plutarch.—*Larcher.*



remembrance, they have performed what was required of them.

CXV. The Ionians, although successful in the naval engagement off Cyprus, as soon as they heard of the defeat and death of Onesilus, and that all the cities of Cyprus were closely blockaded, except Salamis, which the citizens had restored to Gorgus, their former sovereign, returned with all possible expedition to Ionia. Of all the towns in Cyprus, Soli made the longest and most vigorous defence; but of this, by undermining the place, the Persians obtained possession after a five months siege.

CXVI. Thus the Cyprians, having enjoyed their liberties for the space of a year, were a second time reduced to servitude. All the Ionians who had been engaged in the expedition against Sardis were afterwards vigorously attacked by Daurises, Hymees, Otanes, and other Persian generals, each of whom had married a daughter of Darius: they first drove them to their ships, then took and plundered their towns, which they divided amongst themselves.

CXVII. Daurises afterwards turned his arms against the cities of the Hellespont, and in as many successive days made himself master of Abydos, Percotes, Lampfacus<sup>144</sup>, and Pæson. From this latter

<sup>144</sup> *Lampfacus.*]—This place was given to Themistocles to furnish

latter place he proceeded to Parion, but learning on his march, that the Carians, taking part with the Ionians, had revolted from Persia, he turned aside from the Hellespont, and led his forces against Caria.

CXVIII. Of this motion of Daurises the Carians had early information, in consequence of which they assembled at a place called the white columns, not far from the river Marfyas, which, passing through the district of Hidryas, flows into the Mæander. Various sentiments were on this occasion delivered; but the most sagacious in my estimation was that of Pixodarus, son of Mausolus; he was a native of Cindys, and had married the daughter of Syennesis, prince of Cilicia. He advised, that passing the Mæander, they should attack the enemy, with the river in their rear; that thus deprived of all possibility of retreat, they should from compulsion stand their ground, and make the greater exertions of valour. This advice was not accepted; they chose rather that the Persians should have the Mæander behind them, that if they vanquished the enemy in the field, they might afterwards drive them into the river.

CXIX. The Persians advanced, and passed the Mæander; the Carians met them on the banks of

furnish him wine, and was memorable in antiquity for producing many eminent men.—Epicurus resided here a long time.

—T.

the



the Marfyas, when a severe and well fought contest ensued. The Persians had so greatly the advantage in point of number, that they were finally victorious; two thousand Persians, and ten thousand Carians fell in the battle; they who escaped from the field fled to Labranda, and took refuge in a sacred wood of planes, surrounding a temple of Jupiter Stratius <sup>145</sup>. The Carians are the only people, as far as I have been able to learn, who sacrifice to this Jupiter. Driven to the above extremity, they deliberated amongst themselves, whether it would be better to surrender themselves to the Persians, or finally relinquish Asia.

CXX. In the midst of their consultation, the Milesians with their allies arrived to reinforce them; the Carians resumed their courage, and again prepared for hostilities; they a second time advanced to meet the Persians, and after an engagement more

<sup>145</sup> *Jupiter Stratius*—(or *Jupiter the warrior*.)—The Carians were the only people, in the time of Herodotus, who worshipped Jupiter under this title. He was particularly honoured at Labranda, and therefore Strabo calls him the Labrandinian Jupiter. He held a hatchet in his hand, and Plutarch (in his Greek Questions) relates the reason; he was afterwards worshipped in other places under the same appellation. Amongst the marbles at Oxford, there is a stone which seems to have served for an altar, having an ax, and this inscription; ΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΒΡΑΥΝΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ—Of the Labraindian Jupiter and of the very Great Jupiter. It was found in a Turkish cemetery, between Aphrodisias and Hieropolis, and consequently in Caria, though at a great distance from Labranda.—*Larcher*.

obstinate than the former, sustained a second defeat, in which a prodigious number, chiefly of Milesians, were slain.

CXXI. The Carians soon recruited their forces, and in a subsequent action, somewhat repaired their former losses. Receiving intelligence that the Persians were on their march to attack their towns, they placed themselves in ambuscade, in the road to Pidasus. The Persians by night fell into the snare, and a vast number were slain, with their generals Daurises, Amorges, and Sisimaces; Myrses, the son of Gyges, was also amongst the number.

CXXII. The conduct of this ambuscade was entrusted to Heraclides, son of Ibanolis, a Mylassian. —The event has been related. Hymeas, who was engaged amongst others in the pursuit of the Ionians, after the affair of Sardis, turning towards the Propontis, took Cios, a Mysian city. Receiving intelligence that Daurises had quitted the Hellespont, to march against Caria, he left the Propontis, and proceeded to the Hellespont, where he effectually reduced all the Æolians of the Trojan district; he vanquished also the Gergithæ, a remnant of the ancient Teuceri. Hymeas himself, after all these successes, died at Troas.

CXXIII. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Otanes, the third in command, received orders to lead their forces to Ionia and Æolia, which is contiguous



ous to it; they made themselves masters of Clazomenæ in Ionia, and of Cyma an Æolian city.

CXXIV. After the capture of these places, Aristagoras of Miletus, though the author of all the confusion in which Ionia had been involved, betrayed a total want of intrepidity; these losses confirmed him in the belief, that all attempts to overcome Darius would be ineffectual; he accordingly determined to seek his safety in flight. He assembled his party, and submitted to them whether it would not be adviseable to have some place of retreat, in case they should be driven from Miletus. He left it to them to determine, whether, they should establish a colony in Sardinia, or whether they should retire to Myrcinus, a city of the Edonians, which had been fortified by Histæus, to whom Darius had presented it.

CXXV. Hecatæus the historian, who was the son of Hegasander, was not for establishing a colony at either of these places; he affirmed, that if they should be expelled from Miletus, it would be more expedient for them to construct a fort in the island of Leros, and there to remain till a favourable opportunity should enable them to return to Miletus.

CXXVI. Aristagoras himself was more inclined to retire to Myrcinus; he confided therefore the administration of Miletus to Pythagoras, a man exceedingly

ceedingly popular, and taking with him all those who thought proper to accompany him, he embarked for Thrace, where he took possession of the district which he had in view. Leaving this place, he proceeded to the attack of some other, where both he and his army fell by the hands of the Thracians, who had previously entered into terms to resign their city into his power <sup>146</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> I cannot dismiss this book of Herodotus without remarking, that it contains a great deal of curious history, and abounds with many admirable examples of private life. The speech of Soficles of Corinth, in favour of liberty, is excellent in its kind; and the many sagacious, and indeed moral sentiments, which are scattered throughout the book, cannot fail of producing both entertainment and instruction.—T.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



